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The Kurdish Woman's Life

FIELD RESEARCH IN A MUSLIM SOCIETY, IRAQ

by

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To

JØRGEN LÆSSØE

In Friendship and Gratitude

[p. V]

PREFACE

For making it possible for a cultural anthropologist to join the Danish Dokan Expedition, I express my gratitude to Professors Harald Ingholt and Jørgen Læssøe, the leaders of the Expedition.

To Kaj Birket-Smith, Ph.D., D.Sc., I express my sincere thanks for his suggestion to undertake this work and for his faith in believing that I would be able to carry out successfully an investigation of the cultural pattern of Muslim women. To him, I owe much gratitude for friendly encouragement and good advice, not only on this occasion, but for many years.

Prior to my departure from Denmark, Professor K. Barr initiated me into the Kurdish language, and later, he kindly normalized the Kurdish terms which occur in my material. For this, I tender my sincere appreciation. 122

The Carlsberg Foundation enabled me to travel to Iraq and, by a generous grant, made it possible for me to spend four and a half month in Iraqi Kurdistan. This Foundation has also supported me in the course of my work with the material collected, and has defrayed the cost of printing. The translation of the Danish manuscript has been done by Major C. L. Bayliss with a grant from the Rask-Ørsted Foundation. To these Foundations, a deep debt of gratitude is acknowledged.

I further wish to express my appreciation to H. E. Tawfiq Wahbi, formerly member of the Iraqi Cabinet, himself a Kurd, for introducing me to a woman interpreter Maliha Kareem Said.

This book owes much to Mr. J. G. Campbell, Resident Engineer of the Dokan Dam Project, who made arrangements for my stay among Kurds in a village from which the Project derived many of its workers.

Invaluable assistance was given by Mr. J. Taylor, a member of the Resident Engineer's staff, and his wife during my stay at the Dokan Dam Site.

Above all, I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to my unforgettable interpreter Miss Maliha Kareem Said, to her relatives and friends, as well as to Sheikh

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Taufiq and his family in Topzawa who received me as a friend and in every way facilitated my research.

I express my gratitude to my fellow-members of the Expedition, the architects Mr. Mogens Fam and Mrs. Anne-Tove Fam and Mr. Flemming Johansen. Together with the two leaders, they made my stay pleasant and helped me when help was needed.

Last but not least I thank my son, P. U. Hansen, an architect, who has turned my provisional drawings of Kurdish houses into ground-plans and sections of scientific use.

1961. *Henny Harald Hansen*

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NOTE ON TRANSCRIPTION

ء ا	ʾ	alif hamza, glottal plosive ʾ. in initial position: ā, a, i, u; followed by [illegible] in medial or final position ā, ā.
ب	b	voiced unaspirated bilabial plosive like Engl. b.
پ	p	voiceless, generally aspirated, bilabial plosive, German p.
ت	t	voiceless, generally aspirated, dental plosive, German t.
ث	ṯ, s	in Arabic, voiceless dental fricative ṯ, = th in Engl. thank, in Persian, voiceless alveolar fricative s.
ج	j	voiced post-alveolar plosive, = j in Engl. jam.
چ	č	voiceless post-alveolar fricative, = ch in Engl. chalk.
ح	ḥ	in Arabic and Kurd., voiceless pharyngal fricative, in Persian, voiceless glottal fricative = Eng. h in hill.
خ	x	voiceless velar fricative, = ch in German Chor, Bach.
د	d	voiced unaspirated dental plosive like Eng. d.
ذ	ḏ	in Arabic, voiced dental fricative, = th in Engl. that, in Persian, voiced alveolar fricative z.
ر	r̄	voiced alveolar with weak roll, in Kurd. with a single flap.
	r	voiced alveolar roll.
ز	z	voiced alveolar fricative, = z in French zone, z in Engl. zeal.
ژ	ž	voiced post-alveolar fricative, = j in French jour.
س	s	voiceless alveolar fricative.
ش	š	voiceless post-alveolar fricative, = sh in Eng. sharp.
ص	ṣ	in Arabic, voiceless alveolar emphatic fricative, in Persian, voiceless alveolar fricative s.
ض	ḍ	in Arabic, voiced dental emphatic plosive, in Persian pronounced as voiced alveolar fricative z.
ط	ṭ	in Arabic, voiceless dental emphatic plosive, in Persian voiceless aspirated dental plosive.
ظ	ẓ	in Arabic, voiced alveolar emphatic fricative, in Persian, voiced alveolar fricative z.
ع	ʿ	in Arabic and Kurd., voiced pharyngal plosive, in Persian, not pronounced in initial position, in medial position pronounced as a glottal stop.
غ	ġ	voiced or voiceless velar fricative, cf. g in Tage as pronounced in the Northern parts of Germany.
ف	f	voiceless labio-dental fricative.
ق	q	voiced or voiceless uvular plosive.
ک	k	voiceless aspirated velar plosive, if followed by e, ē, i, ei, ey, also voiceless aspirated palatal.
گ	g	voiced unaspirated velar plosive, if followed by e, ē, i, ei, ey, also voiced unaspirated palatal plosive.

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[illegible]	l	voiced dental lateral.
[illegible]	ł	voiced velarized, dental lateral, cf. ł in Engl. well.
[illegible]	m	voiced bilabial nasal.
[illegible]	n	voiced dental nasal.
	ŋ, ng	velarized n, = ng in Engl. long.
[illegible]	v	voiced labio-dental fricative.
	w	voiced bilabial fricative.
		the vowel-letters ā, o, ū, second element in diphthongs aw, ow. In Persian are pronounced [illegible] = [illegible]
[illegible]	h	voiceless glottal fricative, = Engl. h.
[illegible]	y	semi-vowel, as y in Engl. yes.
		the vowel-letters i, ī, ē, second element in diphthongs [illegible]

INTRODUCTION

In the spring and summer of 1957 the Danish Dokan Expedition was working under Professors 114
Harald Ingholt and Jørgen Læssøe on the Rania plain west of Lesser Zab, a tributary of the Tigris in
Iraqi Kurdistan. The Expedition concentrated on the excavation of the mound Tell Shemshâra[1]. Before 121
the expedition left Denmark it offered to take with it a cultural anthropologist from the Ethnographical Department of the National Museum, who, based on the excavation camp on the right bank of the Lesser Zab, would have an opportunity to investigate Kurdish villages in the vicinity. The assistance of the Carlsberg Foundation enabled my association with the Danish Dokan Expedition.

Being a woman anthropologist, I was given, in addition to general investigations of Kurdish ethnography, the special task of studying women's cultural pattern, which in Muslim areas is difficult for male investigators to undertake.

The necessary female interpreter for such investigations was obtained through the former Kurdish Minister, Tawfiq Wahbi, who at that time was living in Baghdad and was in touch with the Danish Chargé d'Affaires, F. Lynn, succeeded later in the summer of 1957 by F. de Jonquières. I left Denmark in May to join the expedition at the Dokan Dam Site, which is near the dam building over Lesser Zab, the Anglo-French[2] engineering project in the Kurdish mountains started by the Iraq Development Board.

As it transpired that the neighbouring twin villages Topzawa-Kakawa, from which the British and French engineers obtained some of their workmen, offered excellent possibilities for study, it was arranged through the Resident Engineer of the Dokan Dam Site, Mr. J. G. Campbell, that, while waiting for a woman interpreter, I should be taken as a paying guest in Sheikh Taifik's home in Topzawa as a member of this village-owner's family.

In the course of three weeks, through the good offices of Tawfiq Wahbi and the mayor of Sulaimani[3], the capital of the Liwa of Sulaimani, touch was gained with a young Kurdish woman school teacher, Malija Karim Sa'id, who, accompanied by her 13 year old half-brother, agreed to go with me to the villages mentioned and stay with me in the sheikh's home as long as my work out there went on. When this had ended, supplemented by a visit to and stay at the now evacuated and flooded ferry village, Mirza Rustam, with trips over the mountains to Shaqlawa and Sargalu, the field of work was transferred to my interpreter's home in Sulaimani, a Kurdish provincial home. From here journeys [115]

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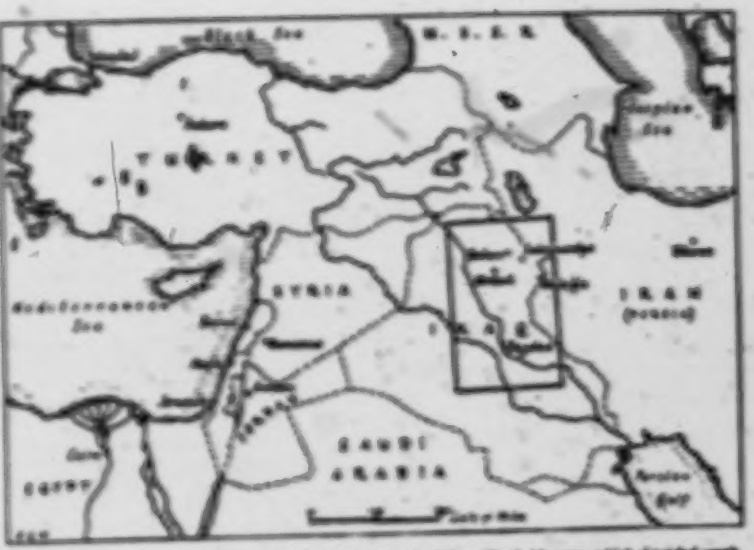

Map of the Middle East. The oblong panel includes the whole of the author's itinerary, which extended south of the Kurdish area to the alluvial plains around Baghdad.

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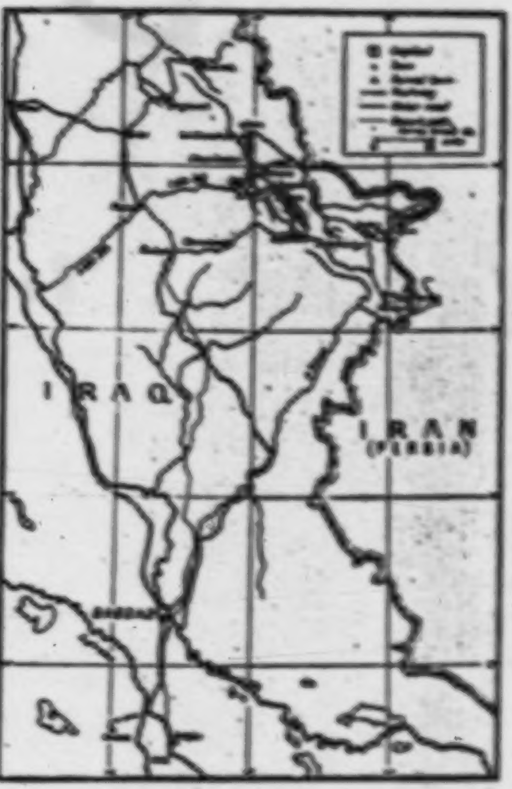
were made into the area with stays at houses whose owners were related to my interpreter. In this way Halabja, Biyara and Tawela, near the Persian frontier, were visited. As transport the country's own resources were used: hired cars, primitive load lorries, mules and horses. If no private houses were available we spent the nights at native Kurdish hostels. With the exceptions of the necessary visits to the Dokan Dam Site in order to store the objects it was my task to collect for the Ethnographical Department of the National Museum, and to contact the member of the Danish Dokan Expedition, who every fortnight came in from the excavation camp with the Land Rover for provisions, and a single visit to the excavation site at Tell Shemshara, I lived all the time I was in the country (8th May - 5th Sept.) among the Kurds.

It became necessary that I should visit Baghdad at the beginning of August in connection with the forwarding of my collections. As the expedition was dissolved in the middle of that month, I travelled back alone via Kirkuk to Sulaimani. Here I stayed another month, paid a further visit to Tapawe-Bakrawa and went with my interpreter and her brother to Serkan, making a lengthy trip to Rowanduz via Kirkuk, Mosul and Erbil in order to determine some costume variants. When I was to leave Kurdistan my interpreter and an older brother accompanied me to Baghdad where I was given the opportunity of living with Kurds in an Arab town.



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Lokal map of the area visited. The area is covered by R.A.F.'s aeronautical maps Nos. 340, 427 and 428.

Thus during my approx. four months stay in Iraqi Kurdistan I did not, as planned, stay among Europeans at the Danish Dokan Expedition's camp with daily, but isolated visits to Kurdish villages, but lived almost uninterruptedly in Kurdish homes. This greatly facilitated the work of the woman interpreter, who would hardly have secured her family's permission to live permanently in an European excavation camp among foreign men even though another woman was present. In addition to the opportunity to follow the life of the village, I also had the chance to study life in an urban environment. In addition, my interpreter, besides being of invaluable assistance in my work of investigating the lives

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[115]

114 12 115 of the other women, was also an intelligent representative of the then commencing transformation of the Kurdish woman's life pattern, doubly manifest, as in her home at Sulaimani there was, in addition to sisters who represented the same development, a group of elderly women that constituted the background on which this change is taking place.

CHAPTER I

FIELD OF INVESTIGATION

The Kurds are an Indo-European people whose tongue, which has several dialects, is related to Persian. 101
By religion they are Sunnis of the *shafi'i* rite of Islam. Kurdistan has never existed as a political concept, 197
though the Kurds appear through history to have inhabited the same mountainous areas as they do 891
to day. To the north their country, whose backbone is the Anti-Taurus, is bounded by a line
drawn through Erivan, Erzerum, Erzinjan and then in a crescent through Mar'ash towards Aleppo. 131
To the south-west the line runs along the foot of the mountains to Nusaibin, thereafter to the Tigris and Mosul and then in a straight line to Mandali on the frontier between Iraq and Iran. To the east the limit of the Kurdish area runs in a south-easterly direction from Erivan, comprises the Maku district, part of Khoi, Urmia, Mahabad, Saqqiz and Senna to Kirmanshah. The main road from Kirmanshah to Karind, and thereafter in a straight line to Mandali, roughly forms the border between the actual Kurds and the Lakks and Lurs related to them.

Descriptions of people who can be taken as the ancestors of the Kurds of our day are found in 144
Xenophon's Anabasis (400 B.C.) and given by Strabo (64 B.C.–20 A.D.). It has been maintained that
the Kurds were identical with the Medes of ancient times. In regard to the various theories concerning 173
the origin of the Kurds see Nikitine[1]. The legend concerning a mysterious descent can be found in "Sharafnameh", the history of the Kurds, written in Persian in 1596[2]. Since the Median kingdom succumbed to the Persian king, Cyrus, in 550 B.C., the area that is now Southern Kurdistan was first a part of the Achaemenid kingdom (until 331 B.C.) and was thereafter ruled by the Greek Seleucids, by the Parthians, Persian Sassanids, Arabian caliphs, Mongols and Turkomans, until the Persian Safavi
dynasty and the Ottoman empire laid (1639) the boundary between them through Kurdistan. To-day 162
this area, which is inhabited by about 3 million Kurds, is divided between Iran, Turkey and Iraq, with small overlappings in Syria and the Soviet Union[3]. Thus, in 1639, the Persian Kurds were separated from their countrymen, who remained under Turkish rule until the end of the First World War.

At the end of that conflict in 1918 the two Turkish areas, the Basra and Baghdad Vilayets, were 175
united to the Arab State, Iraq, under British mandate, whilst the question of the national status of 648
the third area, the Mosul Vilayet, whose northern mountains were inhabited by Kurds, was made the subject of further negotiation. Inspired by no. 12 of President Wilson's 14 points, the idea was mooted at the peace negotiations at Sèvres in 1920 of creating an autonomous Kurdish state with a prospect of complete independence[4]. This was to comprise the areas east of the Euphrates inhabited

195 648 by Kurds, including the northern, mountainous part of the Mosul Vilayet. The idea was crystallized in Article 62 (delimitation of the area) and Article 64 of the Peace Treaty[5], which, however, was never ratified. At the final conclusion of peace at Lausanne in 1923, a shattered, mutilated Turkey no longer existed, but instead a strong young republic under Kemal Atatürk, and all idea of an autonomous Kurdish state was abandoned. The whole of the Mosul Vilayet with its rich oil fields around Kirkuk was placed under Iraq, which in 1922 was made a kingdom under Faisal I, the son of the Shereef of Mecca, but still under British mandate until 1932. The frontier between Iraq and Turkey was fixed along the Brussels or Branting line[6] by negotiations between Turkey, Iraq and Great Britain at Ankara in 1926. The justifiably disappointed Kurds, who had seen their dream of an independent Kurdistan born at Sèvres and killed at Lausanne, had aired their feelings by repeated national revolts in Turkey[7], Iran[8] and in Iraq. Whereas the Mosul Vilayet was "disputed territory"[9], the British mandate government appointed Sheikh Mahmud (b. 1861, d. 1956)[10] *hukmdar* in Sulaimani, the provincial capital in the Sulaimani Liwa, with guaranteed subsidies. When he became too troublesome for the mandate government, proclaiming himself *malik*, king, of Kurdistan, he was replaced in 1919 by Major E. B. Soane[11], who as early as 1906 had accepted Islam and by his great knowledge of Kurdistan over many years was closely in touch with the Kurds. The first Kurdish paper[12] was started on Sept. 20th 1920, and at the same time Kurdish became for the first time the official language of the Administration. However, Soane was recalled to England in 1921 as his wish for an independent Kurdistan no longer conformed to the attitude created towards the end of the peace negotiations at Lausanne. Sheikh Mahmud was once more appointed, which resulted in revolts under his leadership in 1922-24, 1927 and in 1930-31, and under Achmad of Barzan in 1932. For the political development in these years see Longrigg and Stoakes[13], and Edmonds[14].

184 648 My personal impression of political conditions amongst the Kurds I lived with in 1957 can be summarized as follows: The Iraqi Kurds in a town like Sulaimani, the intellectual capital of Southern Kurdistan, look to the north, to Soviet Russia[15]. It was stated that the small group of Kurds living under the Soviet Union had better facilities to retain their lingual and cultural independence than the Kurds (about one million) in Arab Iraq. In Tashkent, for example, a Kurdish university was said to have been opened. Despite the fact that Beirut University in Lebanon had hitherto always been the place at which well-to-do young Kurds studied, and the Hoybun Committee[16] still existed, the Kurds, whilst I was in Iraqi Kurdistan, looked to the north, to Communism, and hoped that their dream of an independent Kurdistan would some day be realised from that quarter.

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562 291 What has previously been written about Kurdish women comes from the pens of men. Having given the following description of the Arab women in Baghdad: "... visions in dark blue with black masks, which slip about in little yellow boots, and which you are told are women," adding: "... in fact no better disguise than these hideous shrouds ... could have been invented by Oriental jealousy to scare away prying eyes and damp the spirit of libertinism ..."[17] Fraser, 1840, says concerning the Kurdish women that "... they do not wear veils like the Persian women, the utmost practised in this way being to bring the end of the handkerchief, with which their heads are covered, across their mouths

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Fig. 1. Village aristocracy. Married women fetching wine leaves. Serkan.

and chins ..."[18]. However, he goes on: "The women of the richer classes living in towns, remain in the harems of their husbands or fathers, and veil when they go abroad"[19]. He thus distinguishes between conditions in towns and villages. He further adds— "... but I regret that it is little in my power to follow them into their privacy, and describe them in their domestic duties"[20], in which he shares the fate of all male investigators visiting Islamic areas. 562 291 [123]

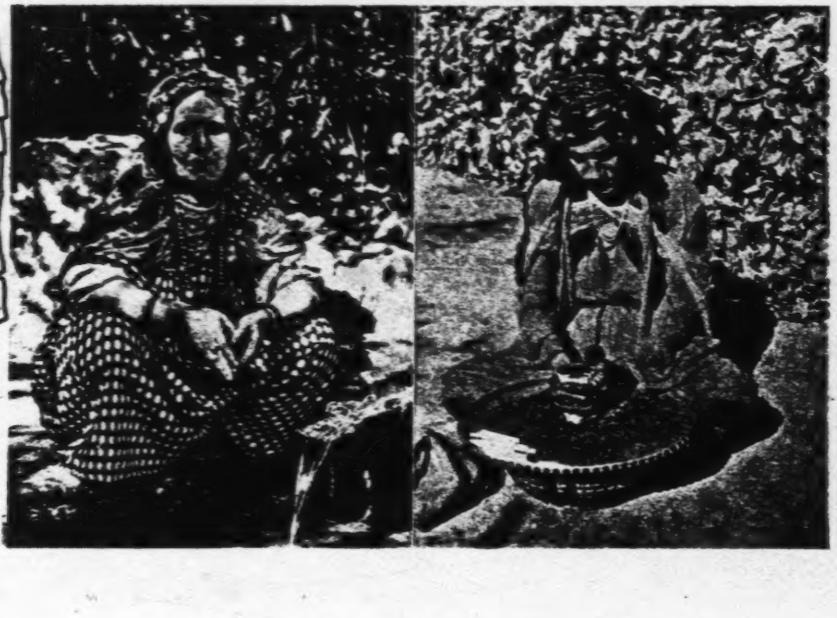
Concerning the position of Kurdish women in Persia, Bleibtreu, 1894, writes: "Die Frauen tragen keinen Schleier und geniessen mehr Freiheiten als bei den meisten andern morgenländischen Völkern"[21]. The same is repeated by Rambout 1947; "La femme est considérée chez les Kurds, comme l'égale de l'homme. Elle n'est pas astreinte à porter le voile"[22]. Soane maintains that the veil is quite unknown among the Kurds[23], that "the wife has a remarkable freedom", as "the women are practically as free as in any European country except that they do not go to the bazaar"[24]. In the same way he stresses that the Kurds in central and southern Kurdistan give the wife "a manlier treatment ... than is seen among Musulman races"[25]. He furnishes similar information when he says: "The Kurds treat their womenfolk with much more respect than do most Mohammedan races. Only the chiefs 562

562 keep their wives in seclusion, and this practice has quite recently sprung up being due to Turkish influence ..."[26]. And Edmonds writes: "Many travellers before 1914 recorded their impression that Kurdish women enjoyed in general a good deal more freedom than their Arab, Turkish and Persian [595] sisters"[27]. In regard to marriage and the polygyni sanctioned by the Coran and known in other Muslim areas, Soane[28] declares that: "The Kurd from north to south is monogamous" adding:[29] [834] "free intercourse between the sexes is the rule, and the result is a large number of love marriages ...".

[581] It is fact that the individual Kurdish woman of the upper class has, in situations difficult for the Kurdish people, sprung into the limelight, which seems incompatible with the view adopted con- 175 cerning woman's restricted possibilities of action in Muslim areas, but may possibly be due to the 562 prominent position of their families[30]. Khanem Osman Pasha, Lady Adila of Halabja[31] of the Ardalan 565 Vazir family, married to Osman Pasha of the Begzada family, is the best known case. Her husband, towards the end of the Turkish period, was made the *qā'im maqām* in Halabja. Even whilst he was alive all effective authority passed to his wife. In 1910 Major Soane lived as a servant with her son, Tahir Beg, after Soane had accepted Islam in 1906 and, under the name of Mirza Ghulam Husain Shirazi, travelled in these areas in disguise. Later, under the British mandate after 1918, it was she, now a widow, with whom the British political officers negotiated. Her personality must have been

Fig. 2. Village aristocracy. Married woman at the garden basin. Serkan.
Fig. 3. Village aristocracy. Married woman making cigarettes. Serkan. (See p. 18).

[562] [516] [291] [531] [301] [276] [142]



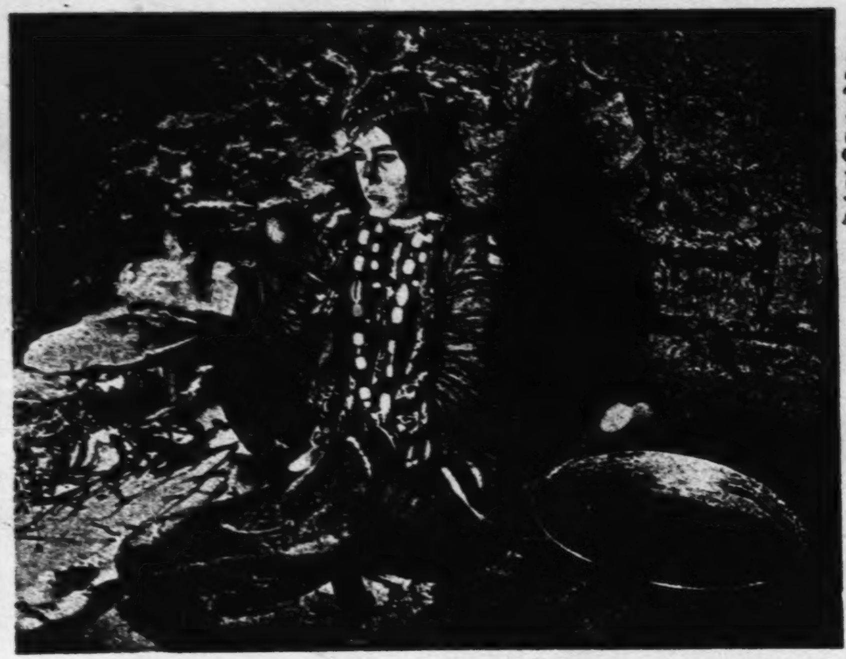


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Fig. 4. Peasant woman baking bread on circular iron sheet. Balkha. (See p. 45).

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a very strong one as she was definitely in opposition to Sheikh Mahmud of Sulaimani, head of the holy family of Barzinji sheikhs[32], and the representative of the dream of a free and independent Kurdistan. Lady Adila died in 1924 during the British mandate period. Her grave, which I visited at a burial ground near the village of Ababaile, some distance from Halabja, was in 1957 deserted and neglected. My interpreter told me that it was in accordance with Lady Adila's own wish that her grave was neither marked nor maintained, but added that people drove sheep and goats over the grave, and that, altogether, there was but little sympathy for the memory of Lady Adila of Halabja, an attitude that appeared to be shared by my interpreter, who, on another occasion, referred with the deepest veneration to Lady Adila's political opponent Sheikh Mahmud, as the real ruler and *málik* (king) of Kurdistan. [693]

Whereas Lady Adila thus cooperated with the British mandate authorities at the beginning of the twenties, another prominent woman, Hafsa Khan, cousin of Sheikh Mahmud and married to his brother, Sheikh Kader, arose in the opposition circles of Sulaimani. She was sufficiently wise to accept

175 responsibility for a group of British officers which had been taken prisoner by her cousin and brother-in-law,
562 Sheikh Mahmud, during the disturbances in that town in 1919. The wisdom of this was demonstrated
shortly afterwards when Sheikh Mahmud was captured near the Bazian Pass and, on
565 account of her behaviour, a sentence of death passed upon him was reduced to imprisonment for
life[33], which later was rescinded.

Another prominent Kurdish woman, Fātima Khan, is referred to by Edmonds[34]. After her husband's
[622] death she administered his estate which comprised eight villages. Elected by the inhabitants
of the villages she negotiated, although a woman, with the government authorities.

562 The information available from various male authors can be summed up as follows: The Kurdish
114 woman is said to possess a far freer position than is the case in other Muslim areas. She does not
veil, except in towns and urban surroundings. Monogami prevails. "Love marriages" can occur.

Below I shall describe the extent to which this information tallies with my personal experience as a woman amongst Kurdish women in Southern Kurdistan.

Fig. 5. Peasant woman crushing wheat in a revolving grinder. Topzawa.

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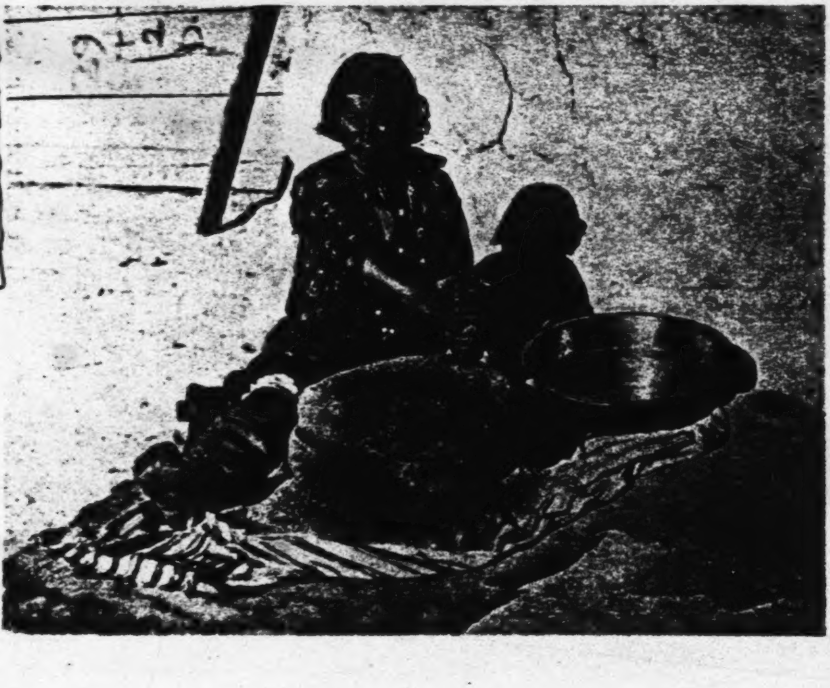

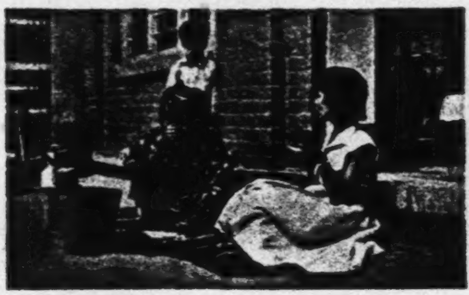

[516] [291] [562] [264] [415]

Fig. 6. Urban milieu. Uneducated married woman and educated girl taking tea in the courtyard. Sulaimani.

562 184

The Kurdish women whose cultural pattern is to be considered below cannot, in my view, be grouped under the common denominator of "the Kurdish woman". Even on the basis of such relatively limited investigation material as was available to me, four different female environments can be pointed to, the cultural patterns of which vary very greatly. The first and most obvious division is that between village and provincial environment, but these two groups can be further subdivided, though on different principles.

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The village milieu can be socially divided into two strata, the aristocracy and the peasants. To the former belong the sheikh homes in Topzawa, Shadala, Sargalu and Serkan. I visited peasant homes in Topzawa, Rikawa, Mirza Rustam and Balkha. The police official's house I dwelt in at the ferry town of Mirza Rustam was in between the two.

369 562 [595]

The provincial town environment (for the sake of simplicity called urban milieu) I first met with in the local Liwa capital, Sulaimani, but also in Kirkuk, Halabja, Tawella and Rowanduz. The women of this urban milieu could be sharply divided into two groups, the "educated" who had been given schooling, and the "uneducated" who, like the village women, could neither read nor write. These two groups of urban women could be met with in the same house, as was the case in the home of my interpreter, where the husband's two wives belonged to the "uneducated" group whilst the daughters had attended school and thus represented the other group. But even though these two groups of urban women were found within the same household their cultural patterns were quite different.

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The part of Kurdistan I visited (Southern Kurdistan) is mountainous and lies in the northern subtropical zone. The year consists of a cool winter half year, with rain from November to April, and a hot, rainless summer from May to October. As an exception I experienced a violent shower on June 5th (1957). The villages lie on the sides of hills above the cultivated fields. The houses, for the most part built together in rows, lie in terraces above each other up the steep slope of the hill, so that the flat roof of the undermost house forms an open space outside the one above it. The communications consist of mountain tracks hedged by scrub and heaped-up stones, or the bottom of dried-out watercourses. No attempt has anywhere been made to level the ground. The watercourses and springs 000

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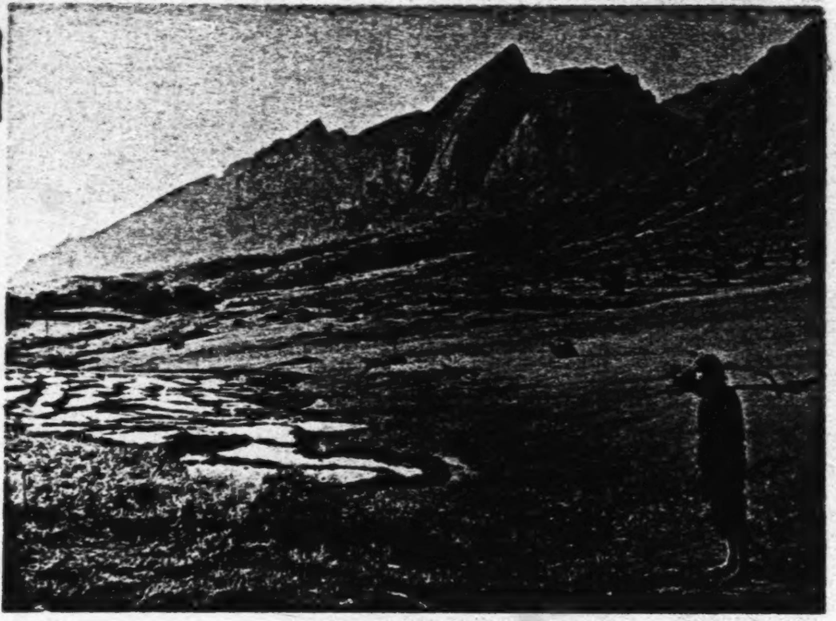

Fig. 7. Rice fields in front of the mountains of Kurdistan.

The watercourses and springs

311 condition the siting of the villages. Some deep hits—three in a row—at Topzawa suggest the former
241 use of *qanāts*. Watercourses and springs are dammed to form basins for the fetching of water and
for washing purposes. Irrigation canals lead across the fields of vegetables and tobacco. In digging
[412] these canals mattocks (E. 2241) and foot plough[35], are used. The latter are worked by two men. The
[909] foot plough was seen in use down by the Lesser Zab on the terraced rice fields. Around the villages
of Topzawa and Rakawa grow poplars, walnut trees, a few mulberry and fig trees. The hill sides have
[137] scattered growths of low oak. Above these villages lie the vineyards, the crop of which is used for
245 must and dried to raisins. Around the villages of Sergalu, Balkha and Tawella, which have ample
water, are big fruit plantations with plums, apricots and mulberries. The domestic animals are: cows
231 and oxen, *gd*, fat-tailed sheep, brown and black goats, *b'zin*, donkeys, *kdr*, and mules, *hestir*, with
ducks, fowls and geese. Horses, *asip*, are kept as a luxury and ridden with a curb bit[36]. There are also
big, yellow sheep dogs and for hunting (wild pig and bear) Persian greyhounds[37]. At 5 a.m. the cows
233 are driven out of the village from the individual houses by children and old women. During the day
the animals grazing on the slopes are guarded by young men. At 6–7 p.m. the animals are driven back

to the village, when the cows find their own way to their respective stalls for the evening milking. 233
Sheep and goats are out on the mountains with the village shepherd from the middle of June. I was told in Balkha that his wages were 25 fils = 6d per sheep for six months. [965] Cattle are brought in the vicinity of the village twice daily—about 10 a.m. and 5 p.n.—when the women go out and milk. Sheep and goats are clipped at the end of July. Wheat is sown in January and harvested at the beginning of 243 June. Scythes are not used. Side by side the men of the village advance through the wheat field and cut the straw with a woodenhandled sickle, *dās*, (E. 2243) about 27 cm.s in length. The sickle is held in the right hand. With four fingers of the left hand the men carry four harvesting claws, *qaynāx*,[38] (E. 2242) fastened together by metal links. The corn is cut by the men alone, whereas the transport [462] of it to the threshing floor is the women's task[39]. This is done either by the help of a long, plaited [283] woollen rope, *guris*, (E. 2244) about 6.80 m. long, or a large-meshed net. The rope is made by the women. The material is natural-coloured yellow-brown, black-brown and white goat and sheep's wool spun on a distaff. The rope is slung around a shock of suitable size, the woman lies on her back on top of it, draws the end of the rope over her right shoulder and gets up. The corn is unloaded at one of the village's open, circular, gypsum-glazed threshing floors[40], or in front of one of the houses where the earth is firm, having been rolled with a wooden roller which is also used to press out the

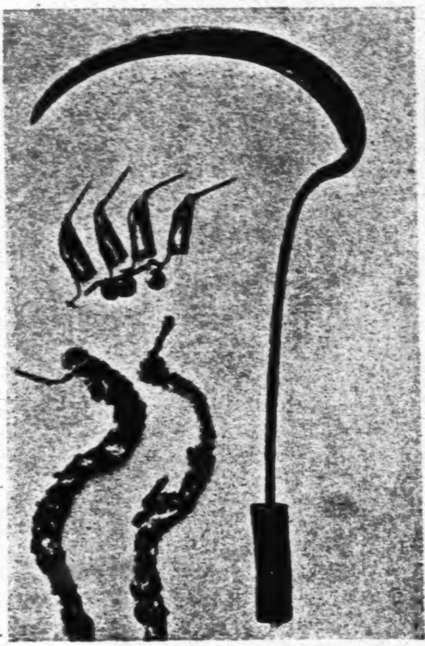

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Fig. 8 Harvest implements, sickle (E. 2243), claws (E. 2242), and handmade rope (E. 2244).

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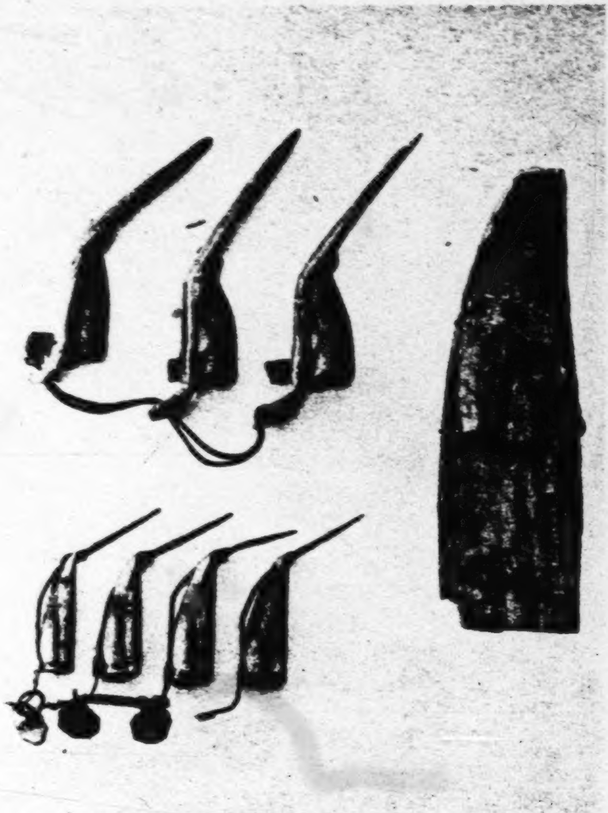

Fig. 9. Harvest claws from different areas. The National Museum of Denmark. Above, Turkish bone claws (M. 566). Below, Kurdish metal claws (E. 2242). To the right, a curved wooden board with rooms for three fingers; from the Lurs, Iran. (E. 527).

243 water from the clay roof of the house after rain. Threshing at the open threshing floors takes place from July to October[41]. It can be done in two ways: the one is by driving round the flatly-heaped corn[42] three to seven domestic animals, such as donkeys, cows, mules or whatever is available, tied together in a row and treading out the grain. This method was seen used up in the mountains and on the Shehrizur plain between Sulaimani and Halabja. The animals are driven round by men who with

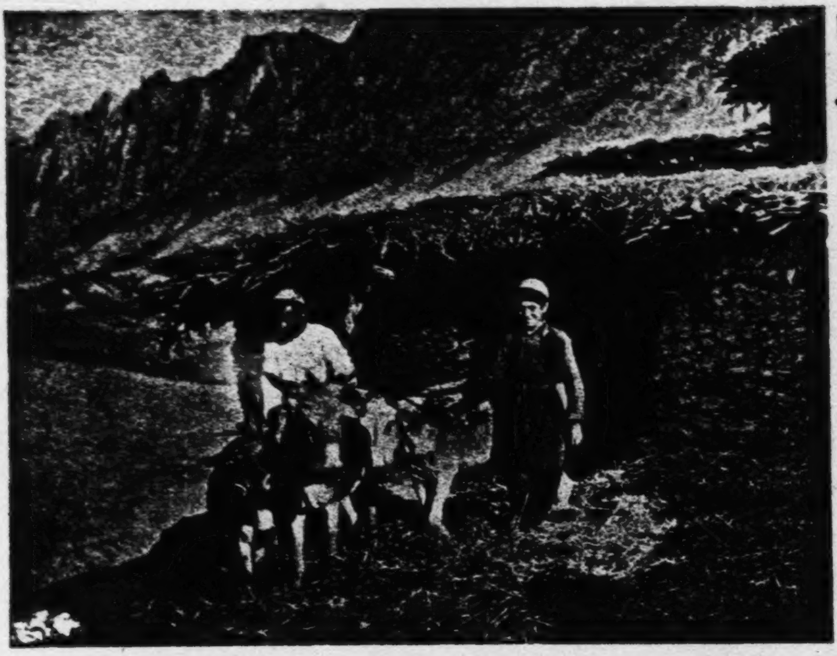

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Fig. 10. Threshing by means of animals driven round the flatly-heaped corn. Topzawa.

wooden forks pitch the corn under the animal as it is gradually trodden aside out of reach. The second 243
method employs a machine, *Janjarr*, which can be called a threshing sleigh[43], threshing car[44] or threshing
roller, as there is no English term which completely covers the function of the apparatus. It consists 243
of two kidney-shaped side pieces joined above by a cross seat. Between the side pieces, which are 407
studded with big brass nails giving the apparatus a superficial resemblance to an old-fashioned sleigh,
two heavy wooden rollers are placed. These are covered by a series of inserted, fan-shaped iron blades
whose edges are at right angles to each other[45]. These blades are so placed that the machine rests
alternately upon a set whose edges run parallel to the rollers and then upon a set whose edges are at
right angles to them. By its pressure and the efforts of the beasts harnessed to it, the threshing machine
serves not only to extract the grain from the ears, which is also achieved when the animals are driven
round alone on the corn heap, but the transverse iron blades at the same time cut up the straw into
chaff.

According to Hay[46] the use of a threshing machine is said to be an economic question, that is to say [184]

243 407 184 it can in general only be employed by the largest and wealthiest farms. Leach, on the other hand, distinguishes between "hill country style", where the animals alone tread out the grain[47] and "plains style" with the use of the threshing apparatus[48]. Feilberg makes geography govern the use in Luristan, as the threshing machine, which he calls "threshing car", is used in the north, and animals alone in the south[49]. So far as could be determined within the area I studied in Southern Kurdistan, the difference in the methods employed was a question of both economy and terrain. In the fields belonging to Sheikh Taifūr, the owner of the village of Topzawa, animals alone were used on threshing floors situated at an altitude, whilst the horsedrawn threshing apparatus was preferred in the fields in the flatter country below. However, I did not observe the use of the threshing sleigh on the Shehrizur plain between Sulaimani and Halabja. After threshing the straw, grain and dust is thrown up against the wind which blows away the dust and lighter chaff, whilst the heavier grain falls back on the threshing floor[50]. The grain is further sifted by the aid of a sieve. The women assist at this work.

343 [251] The grain is stored at home in large, man-high silos of unburnt clay, *kandū* or *ambār*, placed in a store room[51]. Two forms of silo exist[52]. The one is cylindrical, jar-shaped, standing on a low clay bench, and with large, round stones as feet. The top opening is covered by a flat stone. Below, at the side, there is another opening from which the grain can be extracted. The other type is rectangular, built up from the floor in a corner of the room. Both types are embellished by snake-shaped clay coils with finger prints as a pattern, the rectangular type also being decorated with small fragments of mirror-glass and china. According to Reich[53] this kind of decoration is considered to be a protection against the evil eye. It was said that the rectangular type was made or built up and decorated by the women of the house[54]. [462] The jar-shaped examples are made elsewhere. The grain not used in the village is sewn into a sack of carpeting and taken on donkeys or mules to be sold in the towns. This is the men's job.

252 The grinding of grain takes place at water mills which I had no opportunity of examining. These mills lie by rivers and larger watercourses; see Leach[55] concerning their construction.

407 249 [462] The tobacco fields are ploughed in the middle of June. Ploughing is men's job but can be performed by women also. The plough, *jūt*, has a plough-share, *gāsin*, of iron but no curved mouldboard. The sole and beam are in one piece. In the example (E. 2240) that was brought home, the sole and the lowest part of the beam is formed by a natural fork. At the lowest point of the beam a vertical steering bar with a handle, *hawjār*, is inserted. The beam is prolonged by a removable pole to facilitate transportation of the plough when dismantled. It can then be carried on the shoulders of one person or loaded on a donkey. In type the plough is a hoe-plough, described by Glob as a "crook-ard"[56]. Werth calls the type "Krümelpflug" and compares it with the Triptolemos plough[57] known from Attic vases. Further, according to Werth, it is linked with the north-Mesopotamian steppes, and he stresses as characteristic: "Sohle und Pflugbaum aus einem Stück"[58]. In this the Kurdish resembles the Danish ploughs of antiquity from Hvorslev and Vebberup, and differs from the Turkish plough type which, [171] like the Danish Dostrup-plough, has sole and handle in one piece while the beam or drawbar is inserted in it. A plough like the Kurdish is depicted from Arabia by Niebuhr[59], who calls it "Plough with composite beam", concerning himself with the important fact that it can be dismantled and taken from patch to patch, an effective feature in view of the small fields owned by Kurds. The same point

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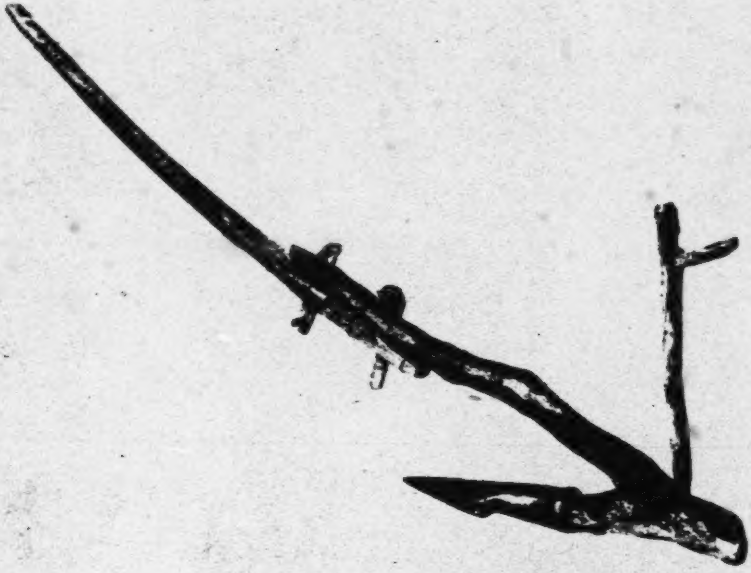

Fig. 11. Wooden plough from Topzawa. Sole and lower part of the beam are in one piece. (E. 2240).

is also stressed by Leach[60]. The same type of plough is used in Armenia and not, as might have been expected, the Turkish[61]. 407 171 249

The plough is drawn by two animals, ox and donkey or two oxen. They carry on their necks a yoke into which are stuck two sets of wooden sticks wound round with small pieces of felt to stop them galling the necks of the draught animals. The plough's beam is linked with a knob on the yoke by a rope ending in a noose. 249 401 233

√ The tobacco fields are cross-ploughed. The non-mouldboard plough does not turn the earth, but scratches it in furrows[62]. Working with it the man or woman must often place a foot on the beam at the side of the handle in order to keep the plough in the furrow. Water from watercourses is led in over the tobacco fields through a main channel from which branch, like the teeth of a comb, side channels. These are opened and closed by means of a small earthwork. Tobacco is harvested at the beginning of September. Women with big pieces of canvas round their bodies like an apron—as is the case when transporting corn from the field to the home—pull the green tobacco leaves on long cords by the help of an iron nail. The tobacco leaves are thereafter dried in the sun and pulverized[63]. So far as I could discover the tobacco is not fermented. Pulverized tobacco cannot be rolled for 276 249 000

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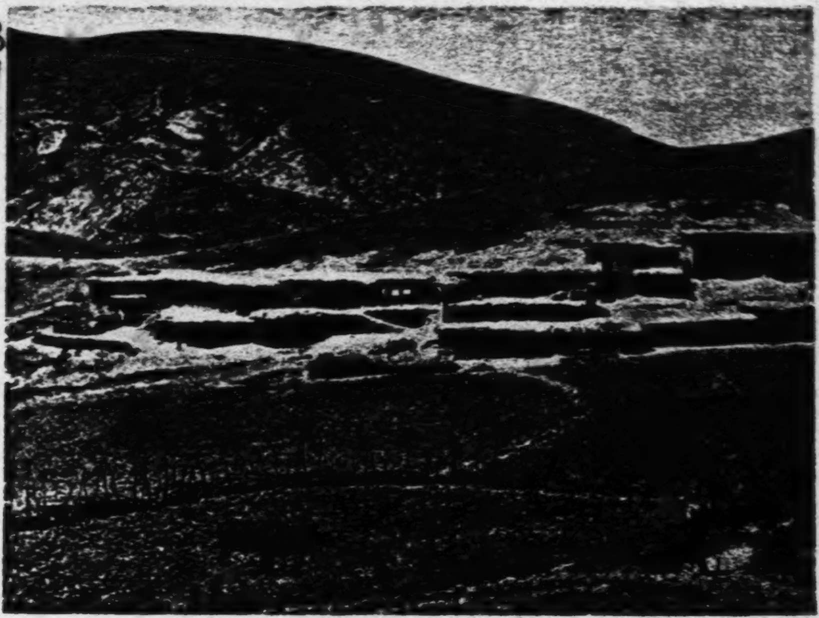

Fig. 12. The tobacco field is ploughed with oxen. Topzawa

So far as I could discover the
Tobacco is not fermented. Pulverized Tobacco cannot be rolled for

276 cigarettes, but is poured by hand into cigarette-sized paper tubes ending in a cardboard cylinder. These paper tubes, inserted in each other and collected in large packets, are purchased at the *suq* in the town. They are placed in vertical groups on metal trays. The filling of the paper casings with pulverized tobacco is woman's work. (Tobacco sample: E. 2245).

562 Woman's world, like man's, is subject to the social structure of the village.

The villages I had an opportunity of visiting belonged to an *aga*[64] or squire[65]. He had no need to
471 live in the village, for he could, for exemple, have resided in Sulaimani on the Surchina plain[66]. In-
565 cidentally the owner of a village could be a woman managing the property for a son who had not
621 reached his majority, as was the case with Lady Adila's daughter-in-law, who at the time I met her was living at Sulaimani. It was said that she owned "many villages and watercourses". If the owner of a village did not dwell on his property he had in the village, according to Leach[67], a manager "kokha", to represent him. A village owner could be of the same family as his tenants or farmers, in which event relations were purely tribal. In cases I was able to investigate in Topzawa, Rakawa,
[566] Sargalu and Serkan the sheikhs were not related to the inhabitants and conditions were feudal. The

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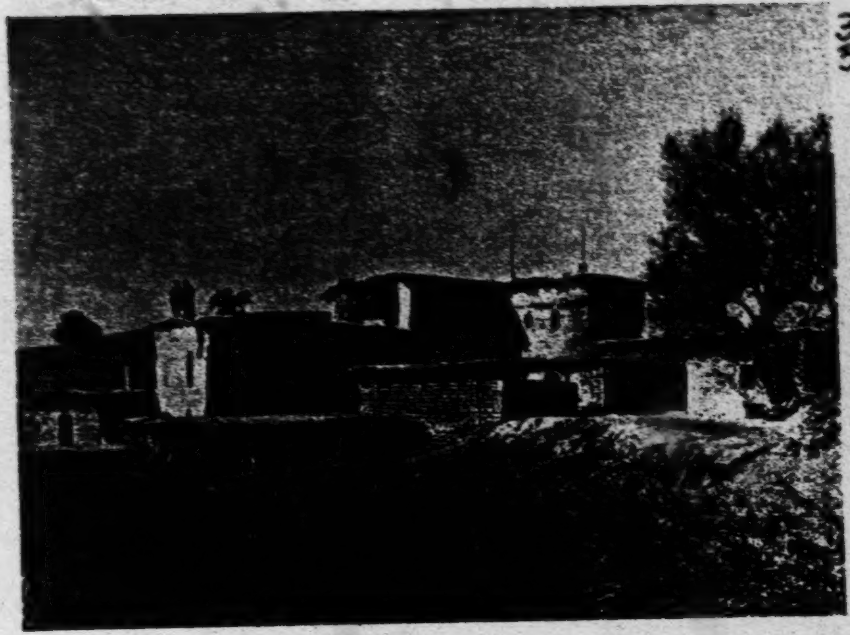

Fig. 13. Village houses built up the slope. Topzawa.

owner of the village leased the ground to his farmers and none could sell, move away or move in 421
without his sanction[68]. Tenants owned their cattle, their implements and the only part of the house 565
construction that was of value, the big poplar trunks that were used as rafters. 621

According to information obtained through my interpreter, tenants handed over 50% of the tobacco 566
crop and 10% of all other crops, besides ploughing, harvesting and threshing for the village owner[69]. 427
On another occasion the interpreter gave the amount as 50% of both wheat and tobacco. However
this information must be taken with reserve. Edmonds[70] gives 10% of the winter crop—wheat and 341
barley—plus fees for grazing, butter and eggs. Leach[71] states 50% if the tenant himself supplies the 566
seeds and possesses agricultural implements, but 75% if the owner of the village has to supply these.

During the British mandate period, 1918–1932, the Land Settlement Commission was established 659
as "a court of claims relating to questions of land tenure" in connexion with a "comprehensive pro- 420
gram" of surveying for the purpose of covering systematically all cultivated land and finally "settle
and register proprietory rights"[72]. A representative of this commission held a meeting with farmers
in the sheikh's courtyard at Serkan during my stay there.

659 The idea of the Land Settlement Commission was apparently to get control of the ground and the fees hitherto paid for it, but by so doing the old relation between the owner of the village and his tenants would be dissolved, as in return for the dues he would obtain he would have to settle all the village's disputes with the administration and government of the country, give assistance in criminal, juridical and military matters; and maintain a guest house[73], a very important factor in the life of the village and its face to the world. The guest house was the place where every traveller, within definite limits, could obtain shelter and food. It was maintained in the house of the *owner* of the village as a part of it, and was at the same time the village club which the male inhabitants freely visited and felt part owners *of*. The guest house is not a business, but the village's joint solution of the obligations of hospitality[74]. It serves to enhance the reputation of the squire and of the village as a whole. If the peasants are relieved of this burden of payment to the village owner, a structural element of the village is at the same time abolished. Concerning this problem see Edmond's account[75]. [985]

624 Within the village the peasants elected a parish officer, *muxtar*[76], who registered births, attended to the military muster rolls and to local disputes.

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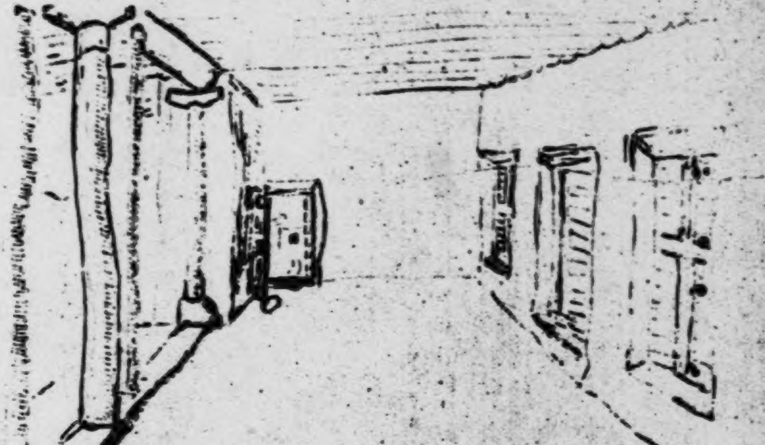

CHAPTER II

MATERIAL SURROUNDINGS

Three forms of dwellings are found in Kurdistan; the one transportable, the two others stationary. 342

The transportable form is the black tent, *rešmāl*[1], the easily moved dwelling of the Kurdish nomad, deal with in detail by Feilberg[2] and not included in my investigations, which only describe settled forms of residence as well as of life.

The two variants of the stationary form are the leaf hut, *kūpir*[3], only erected for a single summer's residence, and the permanent house, *xānū* or *māl*. Leaf huts are put up around the villages of Topzawa [361] and Rakawa at the beginning of June when the summer, *hāvīn*, really begins. They are erected on the sheikh's harvested wheat fields and on shelves in the hills a little above the village which, as mentioned earlier, project from the hillside in terraces. The framework of the leaf hut consists of 4, 6 or 8 poplar trunks a good 2 metres in height, which at the top terminate in a fork. The number depends upon the projected size of the building. The hut has a rectangular ground plan and only one room. The forked trunks are placed in the ground, and supported by stones sunk around them. Resting on the forks, two straight poplar trunks as heavy as the vertical ones are placed horizontally. Above this are laid thinner transverse sticks that carry a layer of twigs on top of which is laid a very thin layer of branches to which the leaves are attached. To form the walls thin osiers reaching from the ground to the roof are stuck into the soil; in between these leafy twigs are threaded, an opening being left for the door. This door opening can face north, south or east, but it does not seem that there is any fixed tradition in this respect. Instead of plaited twigs ready-made mats can be used for the walls[4], but these are not very solid, particularly in the event of dust storms. (On June 7th several finished or half-finished leaf huts were blown down in these two villages). The huts do not have fencing or anything of that sort. They are put up by the men and serve as summer dwellings for the village families [462] whose permanent houses, on account of position or size, cannot provide the coolness afforded in the hot season by a larger house.

It is said that in the trading centre of Tawella, higher up in the mountains near the frontier of Iran, 366 whole families move out to the fruit plantations, "the gardens", because of the work there, but I had 361 no opportunity to investigate the form of dwelling they build there. Hay mentions that "in Shaqlawa 245 booths are erected in the fruit gardens"[5], but does not further describe them.

The permanent house is built of various materials, but is everywhere cubical in shape, with a flat 342 clay roof borne by poplar trunks (as opposed to the pitched roof of the Turks). In the mountains 324 near the Iranian frontier where there is no lack of natural stone, *bard*, the walls of the houses are built

[text continues on P. 23--Analyst]

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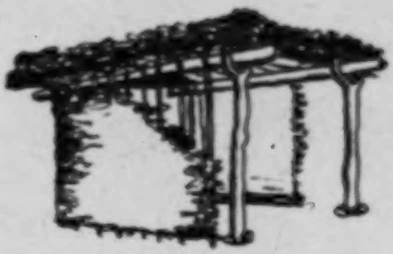
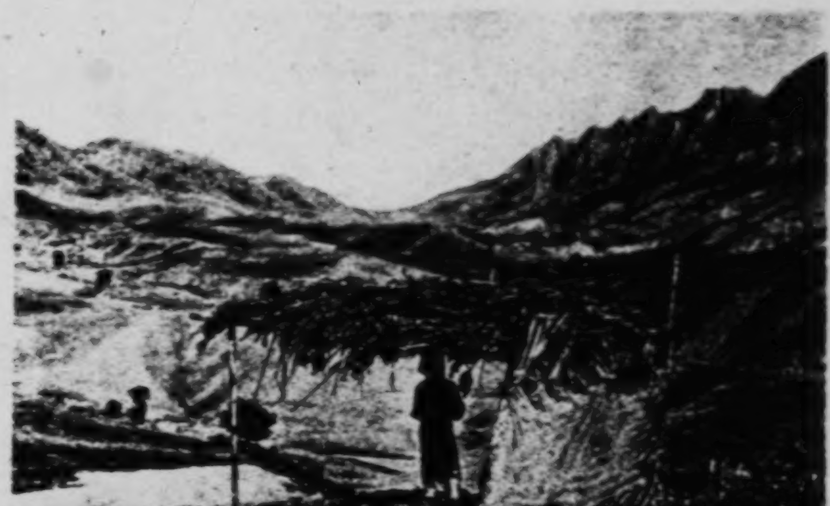


Fig. 14. Construction of a leaf hut.

Fig. 15. Building of a leaf hut with *walls* of mats. Topzawa.



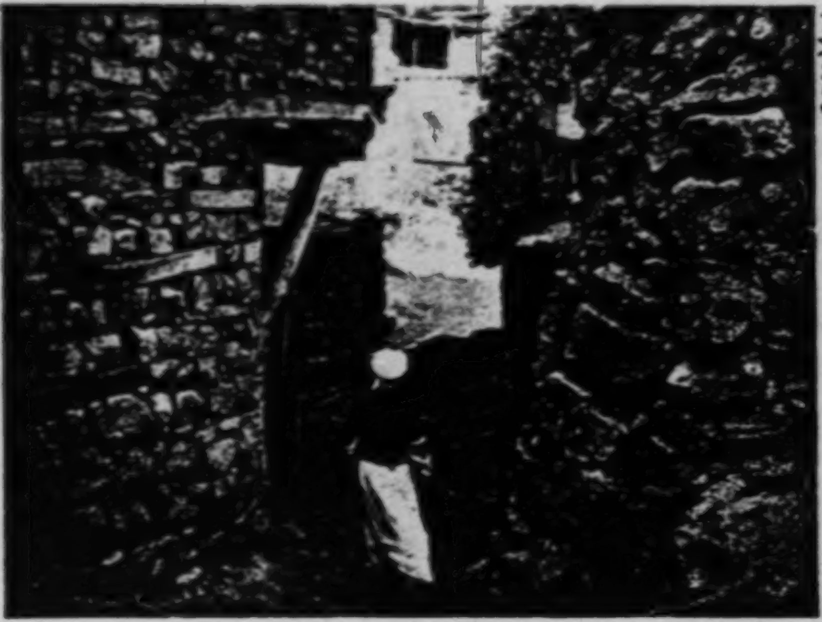


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Fig. 16. Stone wall with inserted horizontal beams. Tawella.

of this; with a kind of timber frame consisting of short, sleeper-like, wooden beams placed horizontally 342
in the stone walls though not joined together. The stones in the wall have either no binding agent 324
or clay is used as mortar. In the newest houses cement has been adopted. The interior walls in some
of the rooms are covered by a clay or gypsum layer applied by the women, which is afterwards polished 342
with flat stones[4]. It appears like a thick white oil paint. In villages and in the older houses in Salaimani, 333
on the other hand, the walls are made of mud bricks, *xišt*. The newer houses in Sulaimani are built *of* burnt brick. In the villages the bricks are first formed from the clay available on the building site, mixed with water and thoroughly kneaded by the feet of men. Water for the kneading process is obtained by directing an irrigation channel to the building site, or fetched in goatskins which are hung in pairs on the back of a donkey. Pebbles for the foundation, and for the rear wall if the house is built out of the side of a hill, are also transported by donkeys, being carried in basket-shaped frames. The kneaded mass of clay is formed into the individual brick in a rectangular wooden frame, in the same way as we form raw peat. The brick is put out on the hillside to dry for some days without much attention being paid as to whether the surface is really flat. After the foundation of the wall has been

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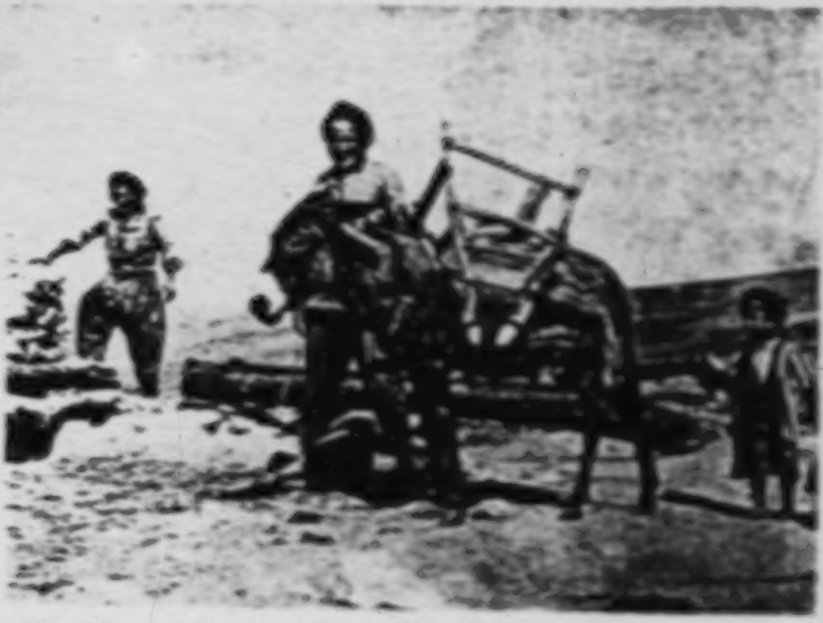

Fig. 17. Housebuilding. Clay and water are kneaded with the feet. Pebbles for foundation are transported by donkey. [illegible]

342 made of pebbles laid in a trench, a wall is put up composed of clay bricks, 1½ bricks thick. This is
333 done with the help of an outstretched horizontal cord, but no spirit level or such like is used to ensure that the wall is plumb, and the ground is not levelled. A mixture of clay and water is used as mortar. Whereas the men knead the clay and transport to the building site the water, stones and heavy poplar
[462] trunks for the roofs, the women assist in the transportation of the dried clay bricks and the stacking of them. The window apertures can be rectangular and, like the door opening, bounded above by horizontal wooden sticks. Arched window openings, on the other hand, are formed by loosely and unsystematically stacking bricks in a vertical rectangular opening in the wall. These bricks are covered on top by a sack or such like on which bricks are placed in a semicircle. When the clay mortar holding the bricks together dries, the irregularly-stacked clay bricks and the sack are removed, whereby a window aperture, bounded above by a semicircle, results. Arched window openings can
341 be uncovered or covered by a lattice of flat wooden shavings, which allows in the light, but no stranger's gaze. This lattice is flush with the outside of the wall. The arched windows can also be fitted with wooden shutters which, when locked, are flush with the inside of the wall. Window frames

with glass panes can be inserted in rectangular window apertures. Such windows are from a carpentering point of view of remarkably poor execution. They are usually protected by iron bars. 3492

In the same way that the arched window apertures are made, openings half the thickness of the wall are allowed for inside the rooms as niches[7] for storage purposes, the only places where anything can be put in this culture so deficient in furniture. Besides, the niches are the only places in the room not affected if rain penetrates the clay roof. In Halabja a niche of this kind, covered by double glass doors, appeared to be a prototype of a wall cupboard. In Sargalu was seen a completely shaped niche wall with ogive niches of various sizes, an Iranian architectural element that is met with as far east as Uzbekistan. The inside walls are plastered with a mixture of straw and clay. The floors are of hard-packed clay, but not levelled. In a few houses, for example in the sheikh's house at Topzawa, a concrete floor could be seen, a thin, inadequate layer of cement having been laid on top of the hard-packed earth. The rafters are the only valuable items in the building itself and are all that one takes if desirous of building a new house. They consist of heavy, barked trunks of the poplar tree, which are laid in [352]

Fig. 10. Mud bricks laid out for drying on the hillside. Topzawa.

341 pairs, side by side, across the longitudinal axis of the house, at a distance of about 1 metre from each other. Across these are laid shorter sticks from one pair of rafters to the next. These sticks project about ½ metre over the outer walls like irregular eaves and protect the frail clay walls from the rains of winter. Above these longitudinal sticks a thick layer of brushwood is laid, but in less well-to-do houses this is replaced by ready-made mats rolled over the roof sticks. Above this again is placed a layer of leafy twigs, and on top of all comes the heavy pillow-shaped layer of clay which, like the walls, is plastered with a mixture of straw and clay[8]. After each shower this must be rolled to press out the water[9] and to make the roof watertight. A heavy, cylindrical, wooden roller is always ready on the roof. The thick layer of clay offers protection from the sun and the heat but not from the rain, Idem. The door of the house is of wood, single or double, which pivots on a stone and is closed by a huge lock or an inside cross beam. At many places corrugated iron has replaced wood as material for doors, but it was stressed as particularly admirable that the houses in the village of Sargala, which lies in a wooded district, are fitted with heavy wooden gates with wooden nails[10]. The heavy wooden doors

Fig. 10. Wall of mud bricks. Topzawa.

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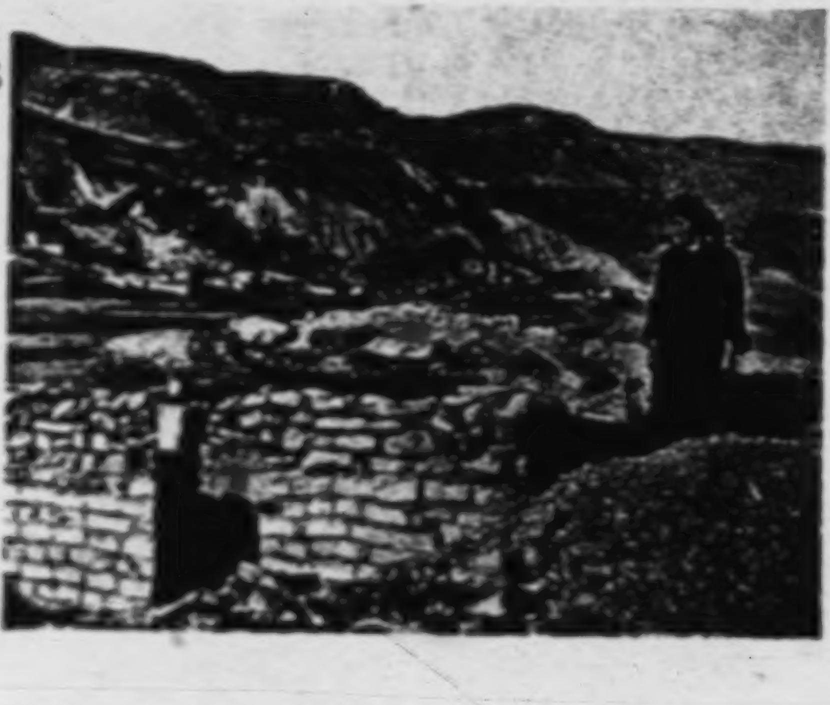

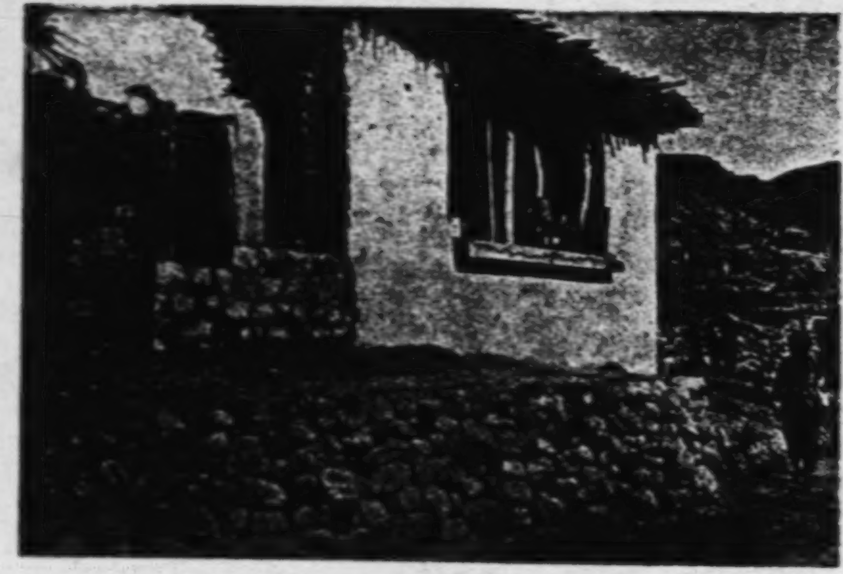

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Fig. 28. Loggia with columns made of slim, barked poplar trunks with pieces of wood inserted as capitals. Topzawa.

and the window frames sometimes come apart from the clay walls as the latter smoulder so much that large gaps appear. During dust storms doors and windows become more and more loose. 342

Two phenomena are typical of the Kurdish village houses of a certain size. The one is the central living room, sometimes placed on the first floor, the floor beneath being used as a stable. This central room, *heywān*[11], looks like a huge niche in the body of the house for it lacks the fourth wall, thus becoming a cool, shady apartment during the hot part of the year[12]. The second phenomenon are the columns, often with pieces of wood inserted as capitals. The pillars are formed of slim, barked poplar trunks[13]. The three-walled room is possibly a Kurdish version of an Islamic architectural element, whereas the pillars can trace their ancestry back to Iranian-Achaemenedian architecture which is known as far east as Uzbekistan[14]. Cellars are unknown. The underground living room, *serdāb*[15], typical of Arab urban architecture, is not found in Kurdish buildings. [197]

The houses in the villages are built on hill slopes so that they often have two storeys to the front and only one at the back. As previously mentioned, they are usually built together and provide accommodation for several families. The way up to the flat roofs is nearly always by narrow ladders[16] made of thin poplar trunks with rungs of rounded sticks or pieces of a tree trunk. Inside stairs from the ground to the first floor are very rare in villages; where they do occur they are made of clay with

342 a twig forming the anterior edge of each step. These steps are remarkably high and uneven[17]. Some of the houses in Sulaimani in which I had an opportunity to live were built of unfired clay bricks, others were made of fired bricks which nowadays are being increasingly adopted. Most of them had only one storey and the same flat clay roof as in the villages. When the clay brick walls are replaced by walls of fired brick, the clay roof was retained, though without the projecting eaves, as walls of burnt brick did not require the same protection from the winter rain as do clay walls. The two-storeyed houses had a staircase which, with high steps, led direct from the courtyard to the first floor, where
[119] the family rooms were situated—an Iranian architectural element—which was found repeated in a house made of sun-dried clay brick in the village of Sargalu, incidentally its most distinguished building, the residence of the sheikh.

THE FUNCTION OF THE DWELLING

121 Having reviewed the practical side of the dwelling's construction, we shall now proceed to its form and function as the framework of woman's life within the four different feminine environments.

As an example of the residential frame surrounding the women of the village aristocracy, Sheikh Taifūr's property in the village of Topzawa will be taken, and for that of the ordinary peasant woman a quite small house in Balkha. The two urban environments, the "educated" and "uneducated" were found within the walls of a single home, that of my interpreter's family at Sulaimani. The picture of that house will be supplemented by features from other dwellings in that town and in Kirkuk, inhabited by women representing both states.

592 Sheikh Taifūr's house at Topzawa is occupied by the family itself consisting of husband, 42 years old, wife, 40, three sons, 18, 15 and 6, two daughters, 17 and 8, a daughter, 12, of another wife now returned to her home, and, more or less constantly, the husband's younger brother, about 35, a co-owner of the property. There was also a servant girl, about 25 years old with two children, a 4 year old daughter and a 2 year old son. As a tenant of a room that had no entrance into the house was a poor widow with several sons who, however, were not at home when I was there—a total of 13—15 persons. As opposed to the other village houses, which lay in terraces on the slope of the hill, the flat clay roofs of the lower houses forming an open space in front of those above them, Sheikh Taifūr's
342 house lay by itself. It was built of sun-dried clay brick on a stone foundation, plastered with a mixture
[361] of straw and clay. The roof was of poplar trunks with the addition of brushwood covered by a thick, hard-packed and rolled layer of clay. The house had six different levels of flat roofing. It lay close to a slightly sloping, unlevelled piece of ground on the outskirts of the village, a little above it. A watercourse, which even in the hottest summer never ran dry, passed alongside the back wall of the property, and water from it was diverted through the wall into a cemented basin, about 2×1×0.75
[312] metres, lying in a small garden, with an outflow under the wall.

The property was divided into three contiguous parts: the family house, the farm and the guest
342 wing. The family house was orientated like an atrium house with cook and bake houses around a
361 court. Four high, irregular steps led from the court to the dwelling house, which, on account of the

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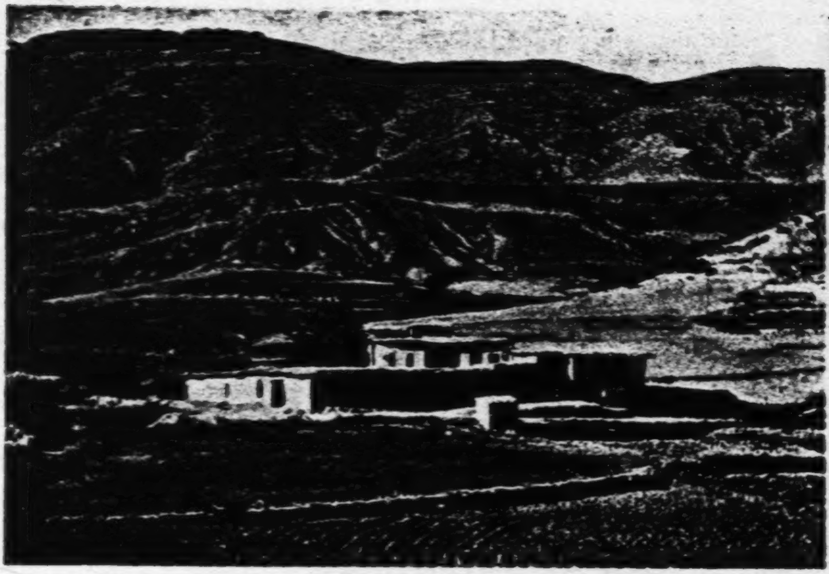

Fig. 21. Sheikh Taifūr's property. Toprawa.

configuration of the ground, lay on a ledge above it. The farm had direct access to the courtyard 342
through an opening in a low wall. It comprised stables and store rooms which enclosed the small 361
court on three sides; the fourth side being filled by a garden and a basin for ablutions. As appears
from the ground plan and elevation, the entrance to the farm lay to the west of the property. Its double
gate was of corrugated iron. Admission to the family house was only possible through a narrow wooden
door with two steps outside and a corridor inside which led into the court-yard. In the wing of the
family house a room possessing direct access to the highroad was occupied by the widow and her
sons, and in the wing of the farm dwelt the servant girl and her children. Neither of these two rooms 342
was connected with the family house or the farm, being completely isolated. Built together with, but
not directly connected with it, was the guest wing[18]. A guest wing is typical of the finest houses in [554]
Kurdish villages and is maintained by subsidies from the whole village to the squire. It is dealt with [114]
in detail as a sociological phenomenon by Burton, Edmonds and Leach[19]. There was direct access
to the guest wing from the narrow highway that passed by the property to the village of Rakawa.
At right angles to the small steps up to the door of the family house some more steps led to another
wooden door through which one passed into a loggia. The roof to this was supported by five columns
of barked, but variegated shaped poplar trunks with roughly-hacked wooden blocks inserted as

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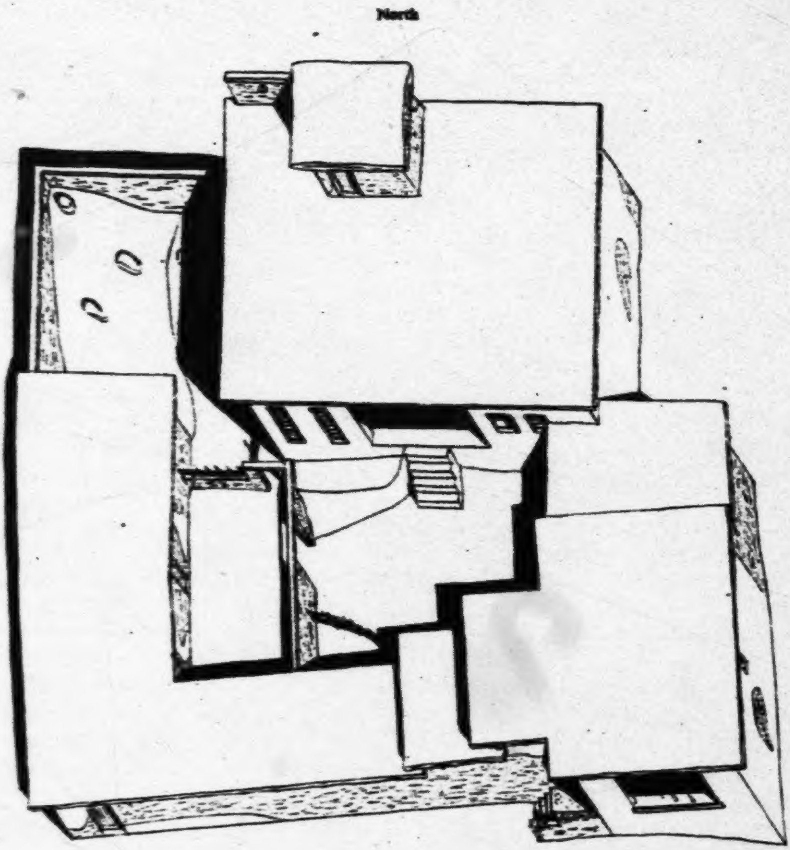

Fig. 22. Bird's-eye view of Sheikh Taifur's property. Topzawa.

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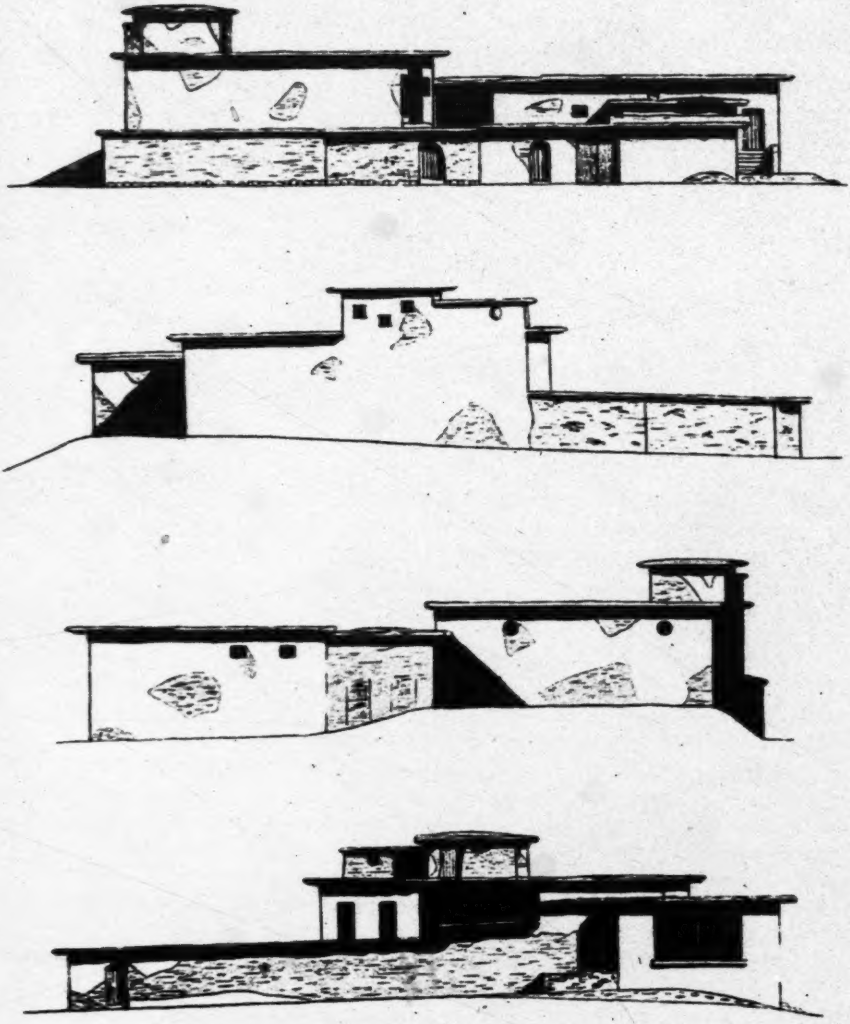

Fig. 23. Elevations of Sheikh Taifur's property, Topzawa. From above: west, north, east, and south side.

342 capitals, which were a primitive form of the classical, voluted capital. From this side of the loggia
two wooden doors each lead to a rectangular room with large, low-sited glass windows looking out
on the loggia, and two windows placed high, facing the courtyard of the family house and the property's
outer wall, respectively. All windows had iron bars in front of the panes. A door connected the two
rooms which had in their thick exterior walls niches of the same size as the windows. To the area of
the guest house must also be reckoned a small cubic clay building on the opposite side of the road,
[364] built out over the lower-lying field—a latrine, *adapxâna*, with a hole in the floor, intended for the
male guests of the house. The family's latrine consisted of the garden basin's waste-pipe near the
garden wall, and lay in the area of the farm. In the evening the farm's big gate and the narrow wooden
door of the family house were carefully locked and bolted. The two buildings were then completely
closed off from the guest wing, whose small windows facing the courtyard were placed so high in the
wall that it was impossible through them to discern the slightest glimpse of family life in the two
other areas of the property.

562 The combination family house and farm formed the frame for the women's daily life and domestic
activities. They only visited the guest wing occasionally in order to clean or to receive female guests
when the absence of the men provided an opportunity for them to use it for this purpose. A constant
traffic went on between the farm and the family house, as the only water supply was the garden basin
312 lying by the north-western corner of the latter, though in the area of the former. This was where all
washing took place—food, cooking utensils, clothes and the human body, and, as mentioned, the
[364] basin's waste-pipe near the wall was used as the women's latrine. The remarkable thing was that this
water basin was also available to a certain number of the village women who here rinsed rice, washed
themselves, relieved nature, and, finally, fetched the daily water supply for themselves and their
[415] families. This was carried away in clay pitchers, petrol cans or ram's skin containers. Some of these
women took advantage of their errand at the basin to enter the area of the family house, either to
[252] pay a visit or to use the small transportable revolving stone quern for the grinding of salt, of rice for
rice flour, or of boiled wheat grain as a substitute for rice. However, just as many came merely to
[412] use the water basin. In the same way that the water basin, which constituted an absolutely essential
supplement to life in the family house, lay in the area of the farm, so in a store room of the dwelling
house were certain objects whose function suggested that they should be stored in the area of the farm.
343 Things like sickles, ploughs, and the large jar-shaped clay silos, were stored in the dark, windowless
[412] store room behind the main living room of the house and only with access from here.

The dwelling house, situated on a clay terrace, dug out of the terrain, with five high steps leading
up to it, was of one storey only and had no cellar. It consisted of six rooms, three looking out on the
342 courtyard and three behind. There were no windows in the back and side walls. The most central
room looking towards the court represented the niche-like, three-walled *heywân*. The hard-packed
earth floor was here covered by a thin, irregular and inadequate layer of cement. The two side rooms
were a step higher than the central room and were entered from it. Both possessed two iron-barred,
low-sited, glass windows overlooking the court. The western room had an irregular mud floor, the
other a cement floor like that in the central room. In the narrow back wall of this oblong room two
[515] steps led up to a small door which opened on a little cupboard-like room, devoid of windows, with

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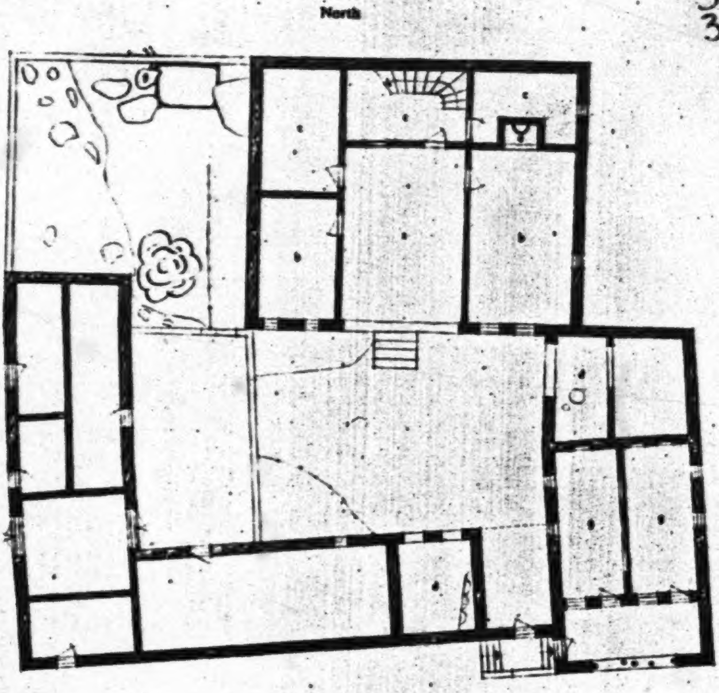
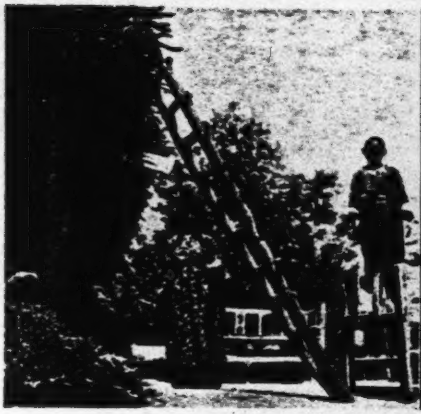


Fig. 24. Ground-plan of Sheikh Taifūr's property. Topzawa. Scale 1:200.
a: central living room, *hayvān*; b: sleeping rooms; c: store rooms; d: cooking and baking rooms; e: bath room, *hammām*; f: latrine; g: guest rooms in the guest wing.

342 a cement floor and a drain, plus a low basin fed from a big petrol drum. This was the *hammâm*, the
515 steam bath. It was not used during the time (June–July) I spent in the house. I was told that the petrol
drum behind the wall was filled with water from the garden basin, brought in with petrol cans. The
water was heated by a twig fire. The bather lathered himself and rinsed in hot water, the steam of
which filled this small Turkish bath. The room in front of the bathroom was carpeted when I arrived.
342 Later in the summer the carpet was rolled up to make the place cooler and airier. Only the two outermost
of the three back rooms were used as store rooms, the one for grain and farm implements, the
other, amongst other things, for bread. The middle one was connected with the open *heywân* by a
door and a barred, window-shaped opening in the wall. Here meat was hung from the ceiling or on an
[251] iron hook when, exceptionally, meat was kept from one day to another, and here also was the cot
in which the servant's child slept in the afternoon. A large spiral staircase with high, irregular clay
steps, the front of which were edged by twigs, led up to a landing from which a lockable door that
rotated on a pivot stone led out on to the flat clay roof of the family house. During the hot season
one ate and slept here, and in view of the use made of it, this roof must be considered a part of the
living accomodation. The wings of the family house round the court contained the bakehouse, which
lay in front of the compartment that in winter served as a stable for goats. In the bakehouse, which
[252] was separated from the court only by some stacked wooden sheets, was a sunken jar-shaped baking
oven, lined with clay. When not in use it was covered by a circular iron sheet. The cookhouse, where
food was prepared and butter churned, had no windows, but two doors opening on to the courtyard.
It lay in the transverse wing just opposite the dwelling house. Inside, against the back wall, was an
[252] oil stove, very seldom used. Along the one side wall three shovel-shaped cooking pits of clay[20] were
built up on the floor. On the low clay ridge bordering the cooking pit, a triangular gridiron for the
saucepan was placed under which a fire of full-length twigs was lit. In the wall opposite the cooking
pits was a heavy wooden post on which the churn sack, when in use, was hung. A similar wooden
post fixed in the wall outside the entrance to the cookhouse enabled churning to be done out of doors.
Various sizes of copper vessels and saucepans, tinned on the inside, were kept in the cookhouse and
the food was cooked there. However, the preparations for this took place elsewhere: on the clay floor
of the dwelling house the meat was prepared, or vine leaves were folded round lumps of rice and placed
in the cooking pot. Meat and rice were rinsed at the washing basin, where also dish washing after
meals took place. What we understand as kitchen work was thus distributed over several places and
not assembled in one room or at one spot.

352 It is sometimes maintained[21] that an almost complete lack of furniture is typical of the oriental
556 home, but it cannot be said that this applies to the village milieu of the Kurdish aristocracy. In Sheikh
Taifûr's big house there were three iron bedsteads, which, of course, did not correspond with the
[513] number of the members of the family. There were several sets of sofas, chairs and tables, some of the
older type, heavy, clumsy upholstered sofas and chairs with broad arms each with its own small,
octagonal smoker's table, and some of the more modern kind, consisting of a set of green-painted
steel furniture with plastic covers of the same colour. In addition there was a pair of wardrobes and a
chest of drawers of thin veneer. The characteristic feature of this sheikh's home was not the lack of
furniture, but the arrangement and use made of it.



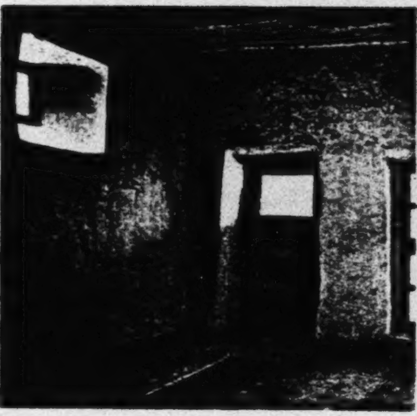


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Fig. 25. Wooden ladder leading to roof. Sargalu.
Fig. 26. Room inside mud house. Thick walls, no furniture. Topzawa.

The most important "piece of furniture" for sitting, eating, working and sleeping purposes was 352 the floor, covered to a greater or lesser extent—according to the time of the year—by felt mats, *libâdâ*[22], and what we call oriental—that is to say knotted—rugs, *fârš*, (E. 2257)[23] imported from Iran or from [439] areas of Kurdistan other than those I visited. Neither felt mats nor knitted rugs were ever trodden on by footwear, for all shed their shoes or slippers before walking on the floor spaces thus covered. [576] Life was lived on the floor; there one worked, ate and slept. There was no fixed rule as to which room or part of the house was to act as dining room or bedroom. The spot where the meal tray, *majma'a* [342] or *sini*,—one for several persons, who continually changed their grouping—was placed on the floor was the dining room for the short space of time it took to consume the meal. It might be one of the three living rooms, the courtyard, or, on warm evenings, up on the clay roof. When tables were used they were moved to the place where the meal was to be and afterwards taken back to their usual positions. The chairs belonging to them led the same wandering existence. Even the big sofas were moved into the murky coolness of the *heywân* in the hottest hours of the day or into the courtyard in the evening. As a rule, however, they stood ceremoniously along the walls of the room, just like seats in a railway carriage. When visits were paid the guests were placed in them and handed a flag-shaped fan, *bâw^{e}šên*, 0,323 l. (E. 2271). If there was no large meal in the guests' wing for male guests, the two big tables there were used for piling bedclothes on.

The two cupboards and the last home-made chest of drawers seemed to be quite new elements in 352 the furnishing scheme. They were for the clothes of the men in the house, and were stored in the most 415 westerly of the house's living rooms. They stood as though in an attic or an auctioneer's room, the way they were placed showing that there was no sense for interiors or any idea that furniture can be

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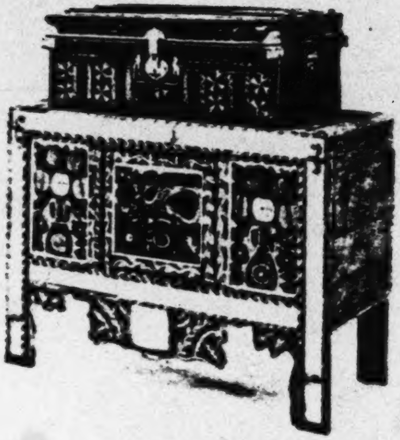

Fig. 27. Tin chest (E. 2279) on top of wooden bridal chest (E. 2278) with painted glass front showing Muhammed's riding animal *Burāq*. Topzawa.

352 decorative. At the side of them stood their predecessors, still used by the women and children of the
415 house: blue, green or red painted tin chests (E. 2279). The key, *kᵉlila*, to the padlock to each of
them was carried by the owner of the chest in her little vest to which it was attached by a safety-pin.
These chests represented practically the only private sphere the women had to which others had no
access. There was also an example of the wooden chest with legs, *sᵉnūq* (E. 2278). Made in the *sūq* of
Sulaimani by craftsmen using as material wood from packing cases, with a garishly painted glass
[532] front, the panels of which were decorated with bouquets of flowers, fruit, and Muhammed's riding
animal with a woman's head, Burāq, it had reached here about a year ago as part of a bride's dowry
and had ended in a corner of the middle storeroom. The beds also moved about a good deal in this
[513] cultural pattern, which must originally have been based on the tent and its heaping up of objects[34].

The one bed was left to me; the two sons of the house usually slept in the two others. The rest of
513 the family slept on the floor. The original strangeness of the bed was further stressed by the fact that
352 they were never made. During the daytime the bedclothes were rolled together and stacked with the
wadded mattresses and blankets, with or without linen covers, used by the rest of the family, the whole
being covered over in one big heap. In the evening whilst the pallets for the rest of the families were
being prepared, the beds were made in the area of the house in which one had decided to sleep. There,
for the night, was the bedroom. The greater utilisation of the store room must also be viewed with
342 this flexibility in the use of the dwelling. In the store room were kept not only a stock of necessities
like food and drink but also articles of value. Things we should have on show or lying easily accessible

in drawers in the dining room or bedroom in manifestation of the home's economic standard, were 342
kept in this room, which thus became more a treasury than a lumber room. The articles of value not
locked in there were carried on the person in the form of jewels. Wealth was hung on oneself and [556]
not impersonalised in the form of a costly piece of furniture or a valuable painting. This explains [301]
the striking contrast between the expensively clothed, be-jewelled women and their remarkably bare [291]
homes.

The flexibility of the Kurdish home must also be viewed in relation to the prevailing sleeping habits. 513
To sleep was a family affair[25], (unless a married couple withdrew to one of the other rooms). There 291
was no undressing when going to bed or lying down to rest on the rolled-out mattress. The women
slept in the same clothes they had worn during the day, with the exception of the turban of the married
woman, which was replaced by a light veil tied round the face and neck. The men slept in their home
clothes, which might be pants and shirt, or, in the case of the more modernistic, who followed the
customs of Baghdad, pyjamas—though not in the sense of a garment for the night. In Baghdad and [369]
in the provinces the Indian pyjama had returned, via Europe, to the Near East as a day and home
garment. In Kurdistan it became day dress which was kept on when one went to bed. Nor was there [177]
any special morning or evening toilet. Ablutions were performed in order to reach a ritually-pure 515
state, and were, like most of the daily life, closely connected with the demands of Islam. The greater 788
or lesser washing of the body whereby one reaches a ritually-pure state, prior to prayer, is hardly
personal hygiene as we understand it. Mouth, nose and hands were carefully cleansed after each meal,
and the genitals were washed each time nature had been relieved, simply described by my interpreter
as "to go to the water". When prior to the five daily prayers the small ablution, must be performed,
which comprises the washing of face, hands, forearm and feet, and then passing the wet hand over [841]
the hair, not to mention the big cleansing of the whole body that must be done, for example, after [833]
menstruation or sexual intercourse[26], there is no need for any further morning or evening toilet.

Clothes were changed during the day if an urge was felt to do so, or if it was considered that the 291
clothes one had on had become dirty or were not fresh enough. The term "going to bed and getting 515
up" thus had nothing to do with dressing and undressing.

The lighting, even in so large a house and with such a numerous family, was confined to a big
pressure lamp and a couple of smaller "kitchen lamps". The larger lamp hung during the day on a 373
nail in the wall of the central room, and when darkness fell it was placed as a luminous centre of the
family circle where this had "pitched camp", whether on the roof, in the courtyard, or in the central
room. The lamp was placed on the ground or on one of the small, angular smoking tables. As lighting
it was garish and most inadequate, which did not seem to worry the people who were able to work
in the cookhouse by the light of a fire, or to wash at the garden basin in the evening by the light of
the moon or the stars, and whose eyes were not accustomed to adequate light from several sources.
One was quite used to being, and performing the evening tasks, in semi-darkness when outside the
radius of the crude light from the lamp. In this clay house of the village aristocracy sporadic European 177
elements could be found: mirrors, battery wireless receivers with velvet covers (only based on the

177 wages from the work at the Dokan dam), wrist watches, sun-glasses, nail varnish, lighters, tooth brushes, tin-openers, and gramophone.

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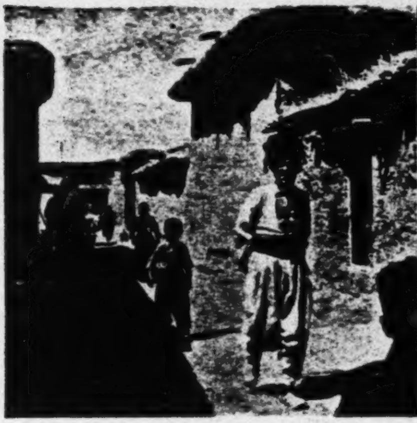
342 A quite small home in the village of Balkha has been chosen as an example of the frame round the
[592] life of the plain peasant woman. In it dwell a young couple and a daughter 5 years old. This house
was neither built of natural stone with short horizontal beams, nor was it detached, being a part of
several houses joined together and intended for several families. It was so sited against a steep slope
that the building had two stories to the front, with the goat stable in the lower and a dwelling in the
upper, to which there was direct access by a path from above. The roof was of the flat, clay-covered
type with a base of poplar trunks. The upper storey consisted of only one room closed by a heavy
wooden door, plus a loggia, the floor of which formed the roof to the goats' stable. The rear wall
was of natural stone along the side of the mountain. The roof was supported by a single poplar trunk
at the outermost corner of the goats' stable. During the summer, the sole room of the house was used
[262] as a locked store room in which was kept the family's harvest of dried mulberries and what the family
owned in the way of kitchen utensils and metal and wooden chests. In the hot weather the family lived
on the roof, the loggia above the goats' stable. This loggia had a wall of brushwood at the extreme
edge, with the result that, in front of the winter room, it was something between a loggia and a leaf hut.

The clay roof was not only hard-packed and rolled but also glazed with a mixture of clay and chalk,
[184] a Balkha peculiarity. This treatment of the roof had to be renewed each year and glazed anew every
time water was spilt upon it. Glazing was women's work and was performed as team work, each
[462] taking it in turn to help the other. There was absolutely no furniture in this milieu—life was lived on
the floor, on the rug rolled out on the roof, and on the mattresses covered with flowered cotton placed
[476] along the wall which were used to sit on, the cylindrical pillows acting as back rests. Coon is
[352] quite right when saying: "One can be just as comfortable and just as dignified on the floor as in the
chair"[27]. Cooking and baking facilities consisted of a cooking pit in the rear corner of the loggia
outside the door to the only room in the house. Here the cooking pots and the convex, circular iron
sheet, *sāj* or *tāwa*, on which the bread sheets, *nān*, was baked were placed on the fire. The sunken
[252] jar-shaped oven was not used here, close to the Iranian frontier. Water, with the possibility of washing
the person, clothes and household utensils, was not found in the house or its immediate vicinity. Some
[312] distance away among the terraced houses against the hill was a covered, cave-like washing place with
common facilities for the women of the village. However, it was stated that the water course—not a
spring of open stream—which fed this "wash house" was so impure that it could not be used in the
household. Drinking water thus had to be fetched down in the valley—a climb of more than half an
hour- from a waterfall in a wood. Here a small basin had been made of natural stone where the
women could wash themselves and their clothes when down to fetch water. The latrine in the house
[364] was the goat stable. Churning was done with the churn sack suspended from a tripod. Access to the
roof, where one slept on mattresses devoid of sheets, was at night closed by leafy branches, so that
[513] neither the grey, long-haired sheep-dog nor cattle from the mountain track could find their way in.



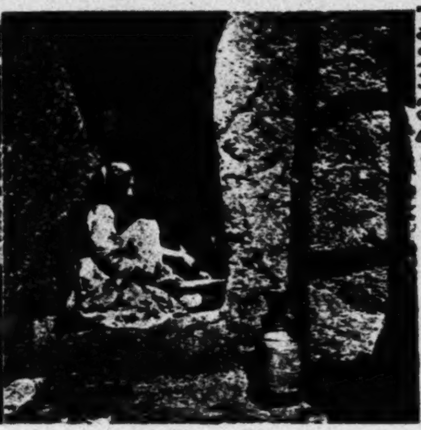


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Fig. 28. Lane in Sulaimani. Left: wall of burnt bricks. Right: wall of mud bricks.

Fig. 29. Mud wall with entrance to baking room. Woman is rolling dough on a baking table. Sulaimani.

The home now to be reviewed as a type of residential background for the two feminine environments 369
in urban surroundings, is the family house of my interpreter in Sulaimani. The father was a 342
businessman who, as representative for a big firm in Baghdad, had a shop for electrical articles in the [363]
main street of Sulaimani. Although he traded in these modern things the business was fitted up like
one of the larger booths in the *sūq* with a carpet-covered bench for the customers and a small workshop table for the proprietor—for example, just like a goldsmith's booth.

In addition to the husband, about 60, the family in this home consisted of two wives, 55 and 37, 592
and eleven children. Of these five were sons: 26, 13, 8, 6 and about 6 months, and six daughters: my [595]
interpreter, 25, the others 23, 17, 16, 15 and 3. A 19 year old daughter was married and lived with
her husband's family (joint or extended family household). Normally, then, 14 persons lived in the home.

Like the Sheikh property at Topzawa, the home was an entity shut off from the world around 342
although not resident in a detached house. It comprised one of a row of one-storied houses 361
built together in the older quarter of Sulaimani, and looked out on an unpaved alley between 369
windowless walls. The house consisted of an older part built of sun-dried clay bricks, and a
newer section built of fired yellow bricks. Both parts had a roof of poplar rafters covered with 341
brushwood and a rolled clay roof on top. The only difference between them was that the rafters of the older part of the house projected, as is the case in village architecture, like a strong eave for the protection of the clay roof, whilst the clay roof had almost no projection over the brick walls. The house was constructed around a courtyard. Apart from the iron entrance door it was completely shut off from the outside world. The entrance door was at one end of the wall of fired brick that shut

341 off the house from the street. Two low steps led up to the entrance door through which one came into
342 a hall open to the courtyard. Both hall and courtyard had tiled floors, that of the former being slightly
361 higher than that of the latter. From there a door led into the guest room, which also possessed a tiled
floor and two glass windows looking out on the courtyard, though no connexion with the family
362 section of the house[28]. Along the wall lining the street were the water installations. In the hall, at
[312] the side of the entrance, there was a wash bowl with running water. Along the courtyard, against
the street wall, was the latrine. This had a sunken, pear-shaped bowl at floor level with an outflow.
[364] In the wall was a tap with some rubber piping for washing after use. Before the door to the latrine
was a large, barrel-shaped basin built up from the floor, with a tap at the side of it; in addition a water
container under which a fire could be lit enabling hot water to be obtained from the tap in the bath-
[312] room, which also lay along the street wall with a small disrobing room in front. Otherwise the bath-
room was constructed in the same way as that in the Sheikh's house at Topzawa. The house thus had
three taps in all from which Sulaimani's good and well-cleaned municipal water could be obtained.
The hall, the guest room, the garden wall and its niches were newly built of yellow brick. The court-
[351] yard was covered by natural stone and had an outlet in the centre. This had originally been surrounded
by a small basin with a fountain, but after one of the children had been drowned in it, it had been
done away with, leaving the central point of the court as a square of earth with an outlet, the soil
around which was scraped away when needed after swilling the court. Around the courtyard lay the
rooms constituting the actual family dwelling, the women's inviolable domain. As appears from the
ground plan, this part of the house—the oldest, built of mud brick—consisted of two oblong
rooms lying at right angles to each other with a three-walled room—a kind of *heywan*—between,
that opened on the courtyard, and from which doors led into the two rooms mentioned. Both these
had hard-packed earth floors, but the ceiling was covered with a layer of canvas, which was also the
case with the ceilings in the newer part of the house. Facing the court there were barred glass windows
going right down to the floor in both rooms. The storeroom of the house, where grain, butter and
household utensils were kept, lay behind the guest reception room, but unconnected with it. It was
entered from one of the two rooms mentioned above, and kept closed with a padlock. There were
no windows. Open to the courtyard, but shielded by a pile of firewood, the cookhouse was squeezed

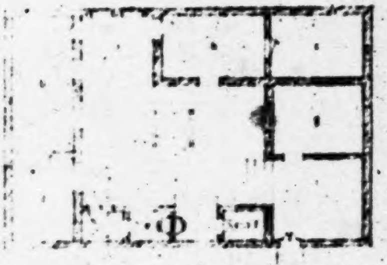


Fig. 30. Ground-plan of family house. Sulaimani. Scale 1:200.
a: central living room, *heywan*; b: sleeping rooms; c: store room; d: cooking and baking room; e: bath room, *hammam*; f: latrine; g: guest room. (Cf. fig. 24).

in between the street wall and the rooms in the old part of the house. As in the Sheikh's house at 341
Topzawa there was an oil cooker and cooking pits built in the floor. There was electric light in the 342
home and plugs for an electric iron and electric fan. Work connected with the cooking of food was 361
decentralised, also as at Topzawa, despite the slight extent of the house. The food was prepared in 369
the courtyard and in the three-walled room, the cooking and baking was done in the cookhouse, [252]
either over the oil stove or cooking pits in the case of cooking, or over a fire with the help of a concave [515]
iron sheet, in the case of baking. Washing up was done with cold water at the big basin between the [296]
latrine and the bathroom. Clothes were also washed there in a large, flat vessel placed on the ground.

In the open hall was a set of clumsy wooden sofas with detachable, light-blue cotton covers. There was also a large table. All these were on occasion moved down to the courtyard. As an exception the 352
table was used for meals, but as a rule it had bedclothes piled on it during the day. There was no 342
steel furniture, but the guest room contained an upholstered set of furniture, polished wood sofa and easy chairs covered with plush, and a smoker's table. This set formed an interior and was not moved, but nevertheless guests used the floor of the guest room for sleeping. During the summer there was no furniture in the other rooms with the exception of a pair of low benches on which were heaped the winter blankets, grain sacks and such like. In addition there stood in the one room, quite alone, a large wardrobe of polished wood with a mirror in the door. It had originally been intended for clothes and had been fitted with shelves, but these had been taken out and replaced by bundles containing the clothing of the different members of the family. Stacked in the corners stood the blue, red and green metal chests, and on the walls were pegs and nails for the clothes of the family[29]. There were no restrictions in regard to women's clothing hanging anywhere.

From the one corner of the courtyard, between the cookhouse and the bathroom, a small ladder 369
of poplar trunks led up to the flat clay roof of the house, which was connected with all the roofs, 342
though these varied in height, in that quarter of the town. During the time I was in Sulaimani the [417]
two iron bedsteads of the house were placed up here, and mattresses were rolled out for all the members
of the family unless a dust storm forced them down into the courtyard. In that event the mattresses, [513]
but not the beds, were moved down. The sleeping space on the roof, that in summer time extended the inhabited area of the house in the same way as was the case at the Sheikh's house at Topzawa, was, on the side turned towards an adjacent mosque, closed off by mats[30], which were also seen on the other roofs of the town. However, these mats did not provide much private life for they did not form any kind of enclosed space around the sleeping places. A remarkable contrast was created between the common night quarters of all the town roofs, practically all on the same level, and the complete segregation of the house when descending the ladder. As was the case with the village aristocracy and among the peasants, the dining room was where the food trays were put down. In the urban environment I did not experience meals being eaten on the roof, as this always took place in the house itself, though in different rooms, the hall, or the courtyard. The guest room was only used when entertaining guests on special occasions.

Despite the beginnings of a furnishing scheme and the interior to be found in the guest room, the 369
same flexibility existed in the placing of the other furniture and in the eating and sleeping pattern 512
as was the case in the villages. This disturbed daily life as practised by the two wives of the house,

369 representatives of the "uneducated" urban women, as little as it did that of the women in the villages,
512 but was difficult to reconcile with the form of life of the fully and half-grown schoolgoing children. In fact a continual conflict existed between the original, nomad type of life in the house, and the demand for fixed habits, fixed furnishing, necessary for the educated section of the family.

342
178 As an example of a new home intended solely for an educated urban woman we can take one created by a young newly-married couple, both folkschool teachers. It was a miniature edition of my interpreter's home: hall or loggia, with a room for the reception of guests behind. Entrance to the bedroom was gained from the loggia, and thence to the storeroom. In front of these rooms was a court with a cooking pit in the one corner and a pump in the centre. By the street wall there was a latrine in the
[364] form of a locked room. The bathroom in the neighbouring house could be used. There was no electric light. The guest room boasted steel furniture, and the loggia mattresses to sit on were also intended for sleeping on on the roof. The bedroom was furnished with a Baghdad suite consisting of a double-
[352] bed, wardrobe and dressing table made of polished wood. When this educated couple's home was
[513] arranged at the time of marriage there was furniture in all rooms. If this home be compared with others where similar furniture had previously been found, it appeared that in the course of time, as the family increases, the flexible mode of life results in the dissolution of regular furnishing. This had apparently been the case at the home of my interpreter, where the original marriage bed had been moved up to the roof for the changing use of the various members of the family, whilst the wardrobe, filled with bundles, was left in solitary majesty. When planning the wedding of the grown-up
[591] son in my interpreter's home, where the couple was to live in the home of the bridegroom's father as members of an extended family, it was decided that the room where the family wardrobe stood and which during the time I lived there had no other furniture, should be given to the young couple. The daughter-in-law would probably acquire a Baghdad bedroom suite as part of her bride wealth. As the young couple, after having been an independent family cell would, after the birth of the first
[593] child, divide— the woman entering the woman's world of the house, the man the man's world outside it— the furnishings would be included in the common, flexible, movable pattern.

[592] The only possible solution of the problem of housing so large a number of family members in a home with relatively so few rooms, is to use them in common both for meals and for sleeping. It

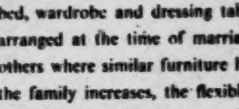


Fig. 31. (Cf. figg. 24 and 30). Ground-plan of house for newly-married couple. Sulaimani. Scale 1:200.
a: central living room, *heywan*; b: sleeping room; c: store room; d: cooking and baking facilities in courtyard; e: (*hammam*) +; f: latrine; g: guest room.

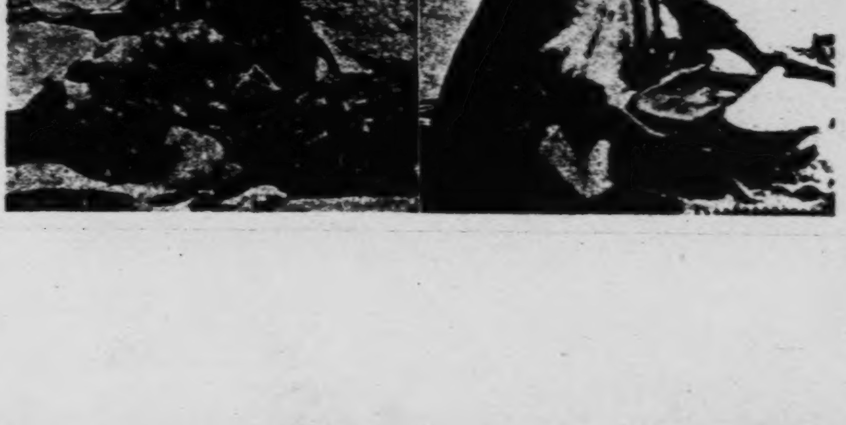
appeared more important than the private life of the individual or the married couple that a reception 342
room for male guests should be maintained in such wise that they could come and go without being 178
seen by the women of the house.

WOMAN'S ACTIVITIES IN THE HOME

The activities of Kurdish women comprise the following eleven categories: Baking of bread, treat- 562
ment of milk, making of tea, cooking, fetching water, collecting fuel, treatment of grain, washing up, 512
washing and ironing of clothes, cleaning the house, and making beds. They rise at about 5 a.m., 462
relax or sleep during the middle of the day, and go to bed between 11 and midnight.

Baking of bread. Kurdish bread consists of circular pancakes, *nân*, of the thinness of paper, about 252
50 cm. in diameter, crisp when new, so soft later that it almost resembles wash leather[31]. The dough, [262]
hawîr, is prepared from wheat flour, *ârd*, sifted through a round sieve, water, *âw*, and salt, *xwê*. It is kept in a sack or bag, *xûe-dân*,[32] of knotted or woven material (E. 2357). Yeast is not used, and when the dough is prepared it is immediately ready for use. It is kneaded in a large, flat, circular copper dish tinned on the inside, with an edge about 10 cm. high. The dough is loosened from the dish by the help of a flat iron spoon, (E. 2265) about 23 cm. long, the handle of which ends in a loop. The dough is formed by hand into lumps, *gunek*, about the size of a clenched fist, which are laid out, often on a plastic cloth, for later use. The forming of the dough is done in two ways; the one chosen depending, so far as I could discover, on whether the baking was to be done in a jar-shaped earth

Fig. 32. Baking. Dough sheet is placed upon baking pillow. Topzawa.
Fig. 33. Baking. Dough is rolled out upon baking table. Topzawa.



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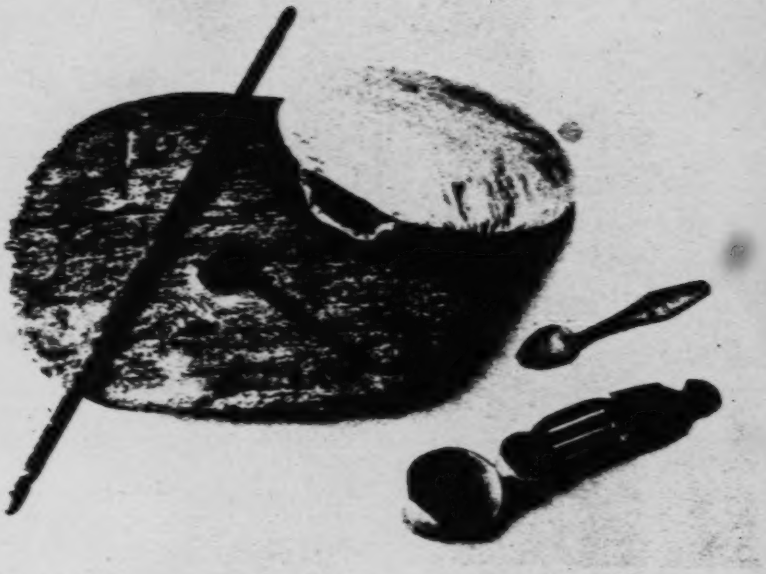

Fig. 34. Baking implements: table (E. 2261), rolling stick (E. 2263), baking pillow (E. 2264), and iron spoon (E. 2265). Small wooden spoon for eating (E. 2269) and wooden ladle for drinking (E. 2268).

252 oven, *tandūr*[33], or on an iron sheet, *tāwa*[34] or *sāj*. In both cases the woman, who squats on the floor, uses a low baking table, *pina*[35], cut out in one piece from a large block of wood producing a thick, rectangular sheet with rounded corners and a slightly convex surface, supported by four short legs or blocks narrowing towards the floor (E. 2661. sheet 0.365×0.250, height 0.07 m. – E. 2262. sheet 0.50×0.42, height 0.10 m.).

[496] When baking in the earth oven several women, as a rule three, work together[36]. The lumps of dough are rolled out with a rolling pin, a thin wooden stick about 70 cm. in length, *tirōq* (E. 2263)[37], decorated at both ends by 6–7 incised flutes all round. The two women use this implement to roll the dough into quite thin pancakes. During this process the sheet of dough is often lifted from the baking table by means of the stick, more flour being strewn on the surface before the dough is put back to be rolled out still thinner. The skill of the women was evinced in proportion to the thinness to which they could roll out the dough.

The dough is then lifted up, hanging over the stick, and placed on the "baking pillow", *mada* (?), which is shaped like a thick, rectangular pillow and made of cloth. On the one side is an opening through which the right hand passes to grip a strap inside, whereby the pillow is held, covering the hand like a thick, padded glove. The baking pillows I saw in different homes were made by the women themselves; they were greasy all over with dough and unbelievably dirty. A baking pillow was brought back (E. 2264) from one of the public Sulaimani bakeries staffed by men. It is circular, diameter 0.230 m. with a circular wooden sheet inside[illegible]. 252

The baking pillow is used to transport the sheet of dough to the oven. The tandûr is a fixed installation, a jar-shaped earth oven lined with clay and a vent at the side of the base from which a pipe rises that leads to the floor about ½ a metre from the oven. This oven is about 0.75 m. deep with a diameter of about 0.50. It is heated by a long bundle of faggots being thrust in, and allowed to burn to embers, whereafter the oven can be used for baking. There is room in the oven for two sets of dough sheets at a time[illegible]. When the sheets are baked they are loosened from the sides of the oven by the help of a stick and laid on top of each other in a flat, circular basket, sêbêl, made in a spiral winding technique (see E. 2270).

When baking on the iron sheet, sêwa, which is not a fixed installation but a loose utensil, I did not see a rolling pin used, and the work was done by one woman alone. The dough balls are slapped flat on the baking table by hand, and then tossed in the air between the hands and swung to and fro. The weight of the dough causes the sheets to become larger and larger. When the dough in this way has become as large and thin as possible, it is laid on the baking pillow, held in the woman's right hand, and further pressed and pulled with the left hand. By this process the dough becomes just as thin and uniformly circular as when rolled out by the help of the stick. The woman, who sits on the floor tailor-fashion, has on her right side a fire lit between three stones, the fuel being long branches which are pushed further and further into the fire as needed. Above the stones lies the circular, convex iron sheet with a lug on the edge for suspension purposes. With the Kurds the sheet is placed on the fire with the convex side uppermost. With the baking pillow the dough is transferred to the heated iron sheet[illegible]. The first dough wafer is baked alone, and is finished by the time the next one is prepared. Without using any stick, just with the hand alone, the bread is removed from the iron sheet and the next dough wafer laid in its stead. The bread first baked is laid on top of it, a layer which retains the heat of the sheet. Finally, the bread "pancakes" baked are laid one on top of another in a flat basket. [412]

The treatment of milk. Cows, sheep and goats are all milked by women, the cows from the side, the sheep and goats from behind[illegible], while a helper, usually a small girl, holds the animal stationary. The milk pail is a metal tub. A small leather sack, 0.40 m. long, hêlkê or kûd (E. 2256), made of a whole tanned lamb or kid skin and closed with a woollen cord around the neck opening, was seen in use in the mountains near Rêkân, where the women had gone out to meet the village herd for the evening milking. 231 234 416 262 [415]

Milk, *šîr*, is never used raw[illegible]. Sheep, goat and cow milk is mixed together, heated to boiling point (or boiled for a moment) in a large, flatbottomed copper vessel, tinned inside, and then left to cool. When the milk has reached the temperature of the hand a spoonful of the previous day's mâst is added. The container is covered and stands warm (in the summer in the courtyard) until the following morning, with the result that the heated or boiled milk is transformed into new mâst or curds. A clay vase, dîze, (E. 2265), height 0.145 m., diam. 0.17 m., was reported to have been used for the production. 234 262 252 415

[illegible] E-5 (1957) 1961 [illegible]

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234
291
857
2[illegible]

Fig. [illegible]. Goats as well as sheep are milked from behind. [illegible]

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It was noted that the first [illegible] is obtained by taking the fluid that is found in the stomach of an unborn or newly-born lamb or kid that has not yet fed, and placing it in tepid milk. The skin of boiled milk is eaten as a special delicacy. [illegible] could be eaten with sliced [illegible] in it, or with bread, as a morning meal. It could also be hung up in a cloth so that the liquid drained away leaving cakes of white cheese.

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415
[illegible] diluted with water becomes [illegible], a [illegible], but thin and much appreciated, refreshing beverage, usually offered to guests. [illegible] is also the material from which butter, [illegible], is churned. Every day at 7 a.m. in the villages, [illegible] is poured into the churning sack, [illegible], made of a whole goatskin turned to [illegible], carefully washed, and smoked for a fortnight by being hung up in the room that contains the earth oven. The legs are sewn together and the anal opening closed with a leather patch. The women pour the [illegible] down the neck opening of the skin, which is then bent over, closed lengthways, and finally tied round with a woollen cord fastened to the skin. The churning sack has two pieces of wood inserted between the fore and hind legs of the skin keeping them distended, and the sack is suspended horizontally either by a rope that goes up and around a beam fixed in

[illegible] up on a tripod, *sepé*, formed by three sticks placed in the ground in front of the house. 834

The churning sack is jerked back and forth by a woman who either stands or squats in front of it. After about 20 minutes the sack is opened and tepid water is poured down, whereafter the sack is closed again. During the next half-hour the woman repeatedly looks at the contents of the sack, and when butter has formed in the shape of white grains swimming in the whey the contents are poured into a metal pot. The grains are assembled with the fingers into a whitish clump of butter of rather loose consistency. The daily, not very large, quantity of newly-churned butter is placed in a clay jar [25] on top of that churned the day previously, strewn with salt and covered with a piece of plastic material. On rare occasions butter is eaten as a delicacy, but its main use is for cooking. The freshly-churned, slightly-salted butter does not keep well. Butter to be sold in the towns is boiled repeatedly and the impurities extracted. In this clarified state it is called *roughan*.

Fig. [illegible]. Woman churning. The leather sack made of a whole sheep skin is suspended from a pole in the mud wall. [illegible]

[342]
[415]
[391]

272 The buttermilk remaining, that is, whey mixed with water, is called *dog*. It is a beverage inferior
274 to *mástāw*, but is used daily as a thirst-quencher and a drink between meals. It is acidulous and very
253 refreshing. In the villages it is kept in a leather receptacle similar to the churning sack and, like the
262 latter, closed by a woollen cord around the neck; it is hung up in a shady spot, for example the gate
[415] of the courtyard, to cool.

For the cooling of *mástāw* in Sulaimani clumps of snow, kept in pits in the mountains, are used.
In the summer this is brought down to the town and sold in the market. In the villages the drink
[574] is offered to guests in a common bowl and drunk with the help of a big, carved wooden ladle, *kawčik*,
[815] (L. 2260), about 0.30 cm. long, of which 0.12 m. is a deep scoop with flat, perforated handle. *Dog*
can be cooked with whole grains of wheat into a porridge, whereafter the liquid is allowed to drain
[251] away by spreading the mass over a coarse woollen sack. This mass, stored in a leather sack, can be
kept for the winter (seen at Balkha).

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272 *The making of tea.* In the part of Kurdistan in which I stayed coffee was not drunk. A copper
262 coffeepot, tinned outside and inside, with a beak-like lip and lid and handle of brass 0.19 m. high
[415] (L. 2275), was bought in a second-hand shop in the *sūq* in Sulaimani; it was a foreign (Arab) element
177 which I never saw in use. At certain intervals along the highroads were a *čayxāna*, a tea house, where
one could stop and be served with tea, *čāy*. The making of tea in the house will be dealt with apart
[815] from ordinary cooking, as tea besides being a necessary refreshing beverage with which meals ended,
[574] being made separately for these occasions, is also offered to guests, and in the evening constitutes
both a stimulant and entertainment. The preparation and serving of tea conforms to a definite pattern.

272 As a rule one particular woman in the house attends to the making of tea, sitting cross-legged on
a small sheep skin, straw mat or felt rug, *būrāk*, (L. 2236) about 1.30 × 0.75 m. In front and around
252 her within reach she has all the requisites for preparation and serving. The chief object is the jar-
[516] shaped *samāwar* of pewter or brass standing on low legs and filled with water. A huge pair of pincers
415 is used to fill the cylindrical interior with glowing embers from the earth oven, from the cookhouse,
or with charcoal heated on a flat, rectangular iron basin with short legs. At the base of the samovar's
[412] interior is a grid. A small chimney is placed on the top of the samovar and it remains there until the
water boils, when it is replaced by a small china teapot, in which, with the help of the boiling water,
a relatively small quantity of very strong tea is brewed, sufficient, however, to form the basis for the
innumerable glasses of tea to be served in an unending sequence to those present. At the side of the
samovar waisted tea glasses about 8 cm. high with appurtenant flowered saucers and spoons lie in
a tin bowl. The glasses and saucers were purchased in the *sūq* in packages of 12, and were said to
[439] have been imported from Czechoslovakia. These small glasses are half-filled with tea from the teapot
and then filled up with boiling water from the tap of the samovar, each glass being sweetened with
granulated sugar (equivalent to 2 lumps of sugar) from a tin, or with loaf sugar broken into pieces
on a cloth by a special sugar hammer. A bowl with these lumps of sugar is also passed round. The
[264] tea glass, saucer and spoon are rinsed in a bowl with boiling water every time they are to be used.
When a tea glass is empty, it is fetched and a fresh one brought until one places the glass down on
[576] the saucer as a sign that no more is desired.

The woman who makes the tea has nothing to do with serving it, and never moves from her position 292
behind the samovar. Members of the family and guests also remain seated in their places. If no children 252
are present, it is for the humblest of the adults present, irrespective of sex, to fetch the empty tea 252
glasses and bring fresh ones. As a rule it is children's work. From the time they are able to balance [354]
across the floor with a tea glass and saucer in the one hand they take part in this ceremony. [859]

Cooking. In addition to the morning meal consisting of *mâst* and *čay*, sheets of bread folded 252
into cornets to be used as spoons when eating the *mâst*[78], and, rarely, fried eggs, *hêlka*, swimming in 264
butter, the women prepare two warm meals in the course of the day. The one is eaten a little past noon, the other at about 6 p.m. Food left over can be kept for the following meal, but remains of the evening meal are only as an exception consumed the next morning. In fact remains of food are never [251]
kept for any length of time as there are no facilities for so doing and the heat in the summer is too [132]
great, about 104°F.

The basic ingredient of lunch and supper is *b'rinj*, rice, steamed in butter[79], with which is served 262
one or two kinds of tomato thickening or sauce with vegetables or small morsels of meat. Meat is 252
not obligatory, but when served it is mutton or fowl. The latter is dipped in boiling water to loosen the feathers and then plucked, cleaned, washed and boiled or roasted. On festive occasions it is served in large pieces, otherwise in small, with sauce. Fowl could also be grilled: split, strewn with salt and spitted on long skewers stuck down in a circle around the fire. Boiled wheat grain, crushed in a revolving grinder[80], is used as a substitute for rice. Rice is carefully washed and rinsed before it is poured into boiling water or melted butter.

In regard to meat dishes there is *kabâb*—not the Turkish kind[81] consisting of whole pieces of meat skewered and grilled—but made of minced meat which is pressed around an iron bar like an oblong hamburger. These bars are then placed side by side on the brazier. When cooked they are pushed off the bars with a folded sheet of bread.

Tomatoes, *bâmiya*[82] or ladies' fingers, and *bâdinjân* or eggplant[83] plus gherkins, brinjal, lentils, 262
marrows, onions, potatoes, parsley, beans and peas[84] are the vegetables used. Cucumber is eaten [344]
thinly-sliced in *mâst* at the morning meal and also alone as a sort of fruit, split into small boats strewn with salt.

Of fruit there are plums, apricots, figs, grapes, yellow melons and water melons. A favourite dish at Topzawa, Sulaimani and Balisa is vine-leaves wrapped round a mixture of rice and onions, placed in a saucepan with tomatoes and onions stuffed with rice over which is poured butter and a very little water[85]. Meals consist of one course only followed by fruit. Rice was served on a flat dish ac- 264
companied by bowls with the meat and vegetable sauce. As a rule two such bowls with various contents 262
were brought in on the large circular metal tray, and placed straight on the floor. As a European I
was given a table, but this was an exception. In the sauce bowls are spoons of metal or of wood, about [412]
0.225-0.245 m. long (E. 2266, 67, 69), for ladling sauce over the heap of rice one intends to eat. Then, with the fingers of the right hand a suitable lump of the damp rice is rolled in the palm of the same hand, and pushed into the mouth by the thumb. If larger pieces of fowl are served they are placed

269 on a sheet of bread and gnawed. Spoons were sometimes used to eat from sauce bowls[66], but forks
262 and knives were not used[67]. Pieces of bread were used to eat with in addition to being consumed as
[412] food. The beverage drunk is *mastaw* or the less-distinguished *dog*. These are drunk from glasses if
[272] not drunk with a ladle from a common circulating bowl. Hands are washed before and after the meal.
[515] Water from a jug is poured over them down into a circular basin. After the meal the mouth is rinsed and cleaned.

Fetching of water. Water is transported to the house by women in containers of various kinds:
312 clay jars about 0.40 m. high with a handle on the one side (E. 2259), home-manufactured and slightly
A15 burnt, or rectangular petrol cans with an opening at the top on one side. Both are carried on the left
482 shoulder and supported by a raised right arm; there are also water skins, *kand*, made out of whole,
462 tanned sheep or goatskins either carried across the woman's loins and held in place by the arms, or on the back in a big shawl, the ends of which are tied round the woman's chest. When a filled water skin of this type is to be placed on the back, the woman first places the shawl on the ground, then the water skin, and finally herself, lying on her back. She then ties the ends of the shawl, the one end being led over the right shoulder, the other under the left arm. Rising, she pushes the water skin into place before setting off. This is precisely the same procedure as is used when a woman places a corn stack on her back with the aid of a rope during the harvest.

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372 *Fuel supply*. Fuel is scarce and is utilised extremely effectively. In the cookhouse, both the clay-
354 lined sunken earth oven and the semicircular cooking pits bordered by low clay walls are fed with whole branches fetched from the mountains. In the villages there was also a transportable form of these cooking pits[68]. The fuel consumption of both the earth oven and the cooking pits is very slight, and the embers are carefully removed and placed in the samovar. Of other forms of fuel there are
[239] cakes of animal manure kneaded with straw and dried on the walls of the clay houses[69]. Cattle manure is collected in the fields and pastures by the women. Charcoal, which is used for the low, flat ember pan, is a commercial commodity produced and sold by charcoal burners. Both in Sulaimani and in the villages there are petrol stoves to be found in bigger households, but in all these places fires and braziers are mainly used for cooking purposes.

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132 *Heating*. During the time I was in Kurdistan, from May to September, it was summer with temper-
379 atures of up to 50°C (122°F.), so I had no opportunity of studying the heating of houses in the colder periods of the year. One cool morning in Serkan, a village of some altitude, a fire was lit in a low niche in the wall under a lean-to. This was all I experienced in the way of heating. For further particulars I must quote the reports of other travellers. Hay[70] states that: "In winter the main room is heated by an open fireplace in the centre; the smoke passes out (or does not, as the case may be) by a hole in the middle of the roof". Soane[71] refers to: "... a brazier of charcoal", and that "a stool under a quilt ... formed the "kirsi" which is the Kurdish method of keeping oneself warm". Nikitine[72] writes that: "En hiver, pour dormir, on place au-dessus de foyer un tabouret *(koursî)*, on le recouvre d'une couverture[73] et tout le monde se couche dessous ...".

Washing up and laundering. All washing up is done in cold, running water, very thoroughly and carefully, nothing being used except the white household soap also used for washing clothes. The sole domestic utensils that come into contact with boiling water are the tea glasses whilst tea is being served. Clothes are washed in hot water, soap flakes or white and brown household soap being used. Water for the washing of clothes is, in the villages, boiled in a rice pot over a fire in the courtyard, and the clothes are rinsed in cold spring water at one of the basins. Clothes might be hit against a stone or beaten with a wooden bat. Incidentally, few of the materials used for dresses were suitable for washing. The materials with metal worked into them, the coloured silk and artificial silk materials, lost a good deal of their beautiful appearance when coming into contact with soap and water. Those best suited were naturally the white and dark flowered cotton stuffs. In fact the cleanliness that constitutes an aesthetic factor in our mode of dressing is unknown to the Kurdish woman. It was said that in the olden days, before European soap a grass root or soap root was used. Articles of clothing are kept in metal chests, with tobacco inside against moths.

515 [388] 296 [24]

[824]

Ironing is done with an iron filled with glowing charcoal or, in towns like Kirkuk and Sulaimani, with an electric iron. There are no ironing boards. Ironing is performed on the floor with a carpet as underlay, the ironer on her haunches. A table and standing position is the exception, the squatting working position being preferred.

296 [516]

Cleaning. As there were no wooden floors in the homes I lived in, I found that a floor cloth was something seldom seen, and used only on tiles in Sulaimani. Clay floor, courtyards and roofs were swept with a brush, *grzl*, (E. 2270), made of two palm leaves tied together, the ribs of which were all laid on the same side and sewn together so that it resembled a fan, 0.40 m. long and 0.27 m. broad. The brush, which is quite cheap and quickly worn out, is bought in the *sūq*. The dust swept up, the dirt and refuse can, for example, be put in a petrol can and emptied. During work the woman moves on her haunches across the floor, sweeping away from, not towards, her. In the summer all floors are daily sprayed with water or, as in Sulaimani, watered with a hose in order to clean the floor, to create coolness and, particularly, humidity in the extremely dry air. Rugs and underlying mats, which at the beginning of summer are rolled off the floor and stacked on a wooden bench in some room in the house, are filled with clay dust, which the duststorm whirls about, but there is no carpet beating.

356 412

Bedmaking. Made beds do not exist as a constant factor. As formerly mentioned, women make the beds each evening and remove them in the morning. The iron bedsteads there may be in the house stand during the day like bare skeletons on the loggia, the roof, or wherever the family has elected to sleep at night during the summer heat. In the villages common beds are arranged with branch-covered laths, resting, for example, on four petrol cans. Generally, a "bed" merely consists of a mat on which a cotton mattress is rolled out. For covering a quilt is used, with or without the sewn-on, envelope-shaped, cotton cover, which is not adapted for changing as it has to be unstitched. Under sheets are rare. The pillow is a cylindrical cushion. If there is any kind of pillow case it is of cotton and shaped like a cuff around the middle of the cushion. It is not meant to be changed, either.

356 513.

356 513 All bedclothes and mattresses are rolled together in the morning and piled on top of each other, outermost being covered by a woollen rug, *haruk or jajim*, (E. 2253, 2.80 m. × 1.40 m. brown-stripe or a carpet of Indian cotton with stripes in bright colours (E. 2255, 2.08 m. × 1.15 m.). Some mattre may be covered with flowered cotton material, and are, with the pillows, rolled out on the floor the side of one of the walls of the house as sitting places for several persons, or, after the mid meal, rolled out for guests in order that they can sleep during the hottest hours of the day, cove by a large piece of curtain-like gauze, which replaces quilts and such like at the height of summ

516 *Working postures.* In a culture like that obtaining in Southern Kurdistan, where the floor is place one sits and sleeps, the pattern of movements is quite different from that existing in West culture.

A seated working posture, with the legs bent to a right angle at the knee, is only met with wh working with the pit treadle-loom, where the pit dug in the earth affords room for the lower le and when using the trendal sewing machine.

Standing working postures are extremely rare. Only on one occasion have I seen the ironing clothes taking place on a table in the same way as we use an ironing board.

462 516 Apart from this all work is performed by the woman in a squatting posture or in a tailor's positi with the lower legs strongly bent. The washing of clothes is performed squatting, whether at the wa basin or at a circular, flat-bottomed, metal vessel on the ground by the tap. The same position adopted when cleaning poultry and cutting meat. When kneading and rolling dough, and baking, whet in the earth oven or on a metal sheet, it is done in a tailor's position, whereas women squat at vertical loom, when setting up the warp, working by the fire and when washing themselves at basin or the tap. The same applies to the washing of hands, the rinsing of nose and mouth after me and when soaping and rinsing the body with the aid of a small metal bowl during the steam bath the bathroom.

516 How natural the squatting position was could be seen in the case of an Iraqi family, friends of sheikh family in Topzawa. This family lived in one of the Anglo-French stone houses at the Dok Dam Site. Here washing up took place in this posture with the china in a wickerwork basket and washing-up tub on the floor, although the building possessed a kitchen table and a stainless steel si All meals in this home, including the making and serving of tea, were served for the women on floor despite the fact that there were chairs and tables in another room, and the parquet floor had be thoroughly dried afterwards, whereas had it been a clay floor the water spilt during the maki of tea would have been absorbed. Even though my interpreter's home at Sulaimani boasted of a wa basin, complete with tap, built into the wall knee-high from the ground, the women washed themsel in a squatting position, sitting on the edge of the wash-basin instead of washing their hands, face a feet standing in front of it.

In the tailor's position the thighs and bent knees were not pressed outwards but settled down the ground under their own weight. The overstretched tendinous ligaments in the hip joint[34] allow the thigh bone to slip out of its socket. Mobility of the thigh joint is combined with great flexibi of the back which gives an extraordinary radius of action. In the sqatting position the body is suspended 516 from the knee joints; in this posture also women have a big radius of action, and the flexibility of the knee joint is retained to a ripe age. I once saw a 70 year old woman whose body, was as supple as that of a young girl.

Working positions on the floor with outstretched legs are only used exceptionally, when the feet are to be used to retain one end of a rope to be plaited or a tape for the waistband.

I saw the squatting working posture transferred to an ordinary chair when my interpreter sat on her haunches on the seat of the chair with her needle work resting on her drawn up knees.

The tailor posture is often used by men when resting in the large, clumsy sofas, the loose cotton covers of which furnish clear evidence of the many naked feet that have been placed on them. When sitting on the floor furniture is often used as a back rest instead of a wall.

The great suppleness of the hip joint or the loose ligaments are the reason why, when wearing European summer dresses, the Kurdish women in Sulaimani sitting on chairs in Western fashion often forget command of their legs, which fall out to the side in a straddle.

Pains in the back occur and attempts are made to get rid of it by massage, or, in bad cases, by treading on each other. The woman suffering from the complaint lies doubled-up on the floor and [952] another steps onto her back. This complaint may be due to long hours of work, for example baking, in a tailor's posture.

It thus looks as though the back is strained on certain occasions by having to be kept upright in the tailor posture. On the other hand no case of stiff knees was seen as a result of a constant standing working position; nor did women suffer from thick legs, swollen or "difficult" feet.

The Kurds possess great plasticity of body. Resting positions are adopted in a completely relaxed [147] manner and are of great static beauty.

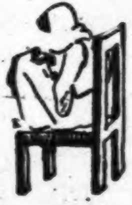

Fig. 37. Working position.

HOUSEHOLD ACTIVITIES IN RELATION TO FOUR FEMALE ENVIRONMENTS

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512 *Village aristocracy*. In Topzawa the baking of bread takes place about three times weekly in the
home's earth oven. This is attended to by three women at a time, mother, daughter and servant girl,
462 or mother, daughter and a neighbour, who in addition also did her own baking in order to utilize
592 the oven's capacity.

252 Goats, sheep and cows are milked by mother and daughter so long as the cattle return home in the
234 evening. When, in the summer, the sheep and goats are handed over to the care of the village shepherd,
the servant girl goes out to the mountains twice a day, at about 11 a.m. and 5 p.m., with the other
women of the village to meet the shepherd and his charges. *Mást* is made daily in the home. Butter
252 is churned every morning. The churning sack is hung up on a beam in the cookhouse or on a beam

Fig. 38. Woman crouching before the fire. Topzawa.

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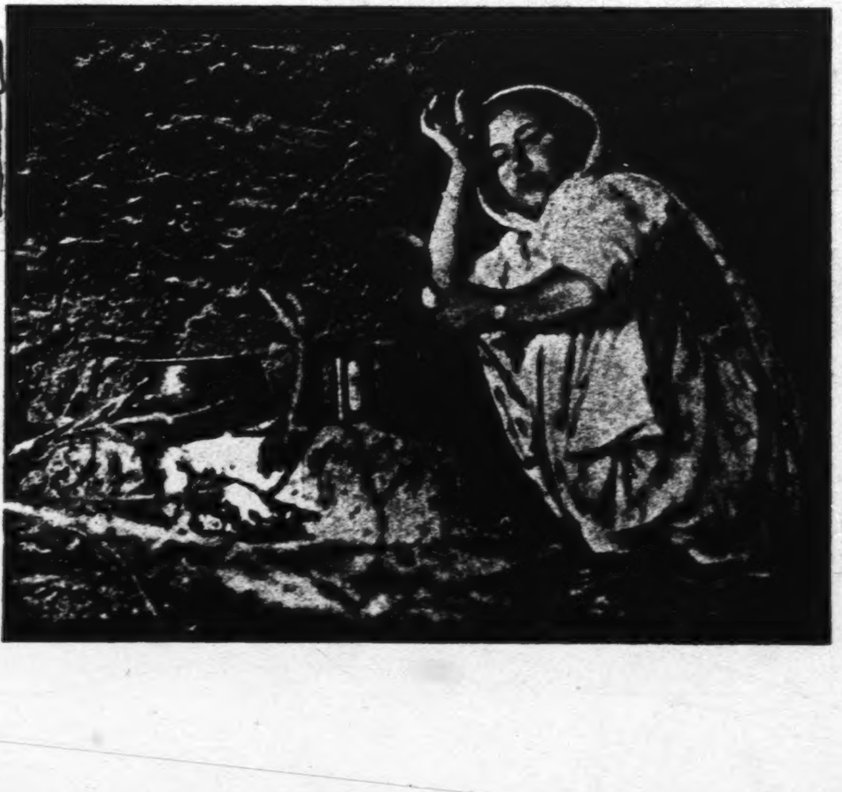

The churning sack is hung up on a beam in the cookhouse or on a beam
in the wall just outside the way down to it. The *dūg* sack is hung up in the door opening; later in the summer the supply for drinking runs out and water is drunk. Sacks with *mást* for cheese cake are hung up out of doors. The daily production of butter is stored in the storeroom. Butter is only used for cooking. The making of tea is always done by the daughter of the house, but in exceptional cases a young male relative may assist. Extra supplies of meat, cucumber and vegetables may be brought in by the men or sent by the local bus from Sulaimani. 512 462 565 [251]

Cooking is performed by the daughter of the home, but the food is prepared by the mother. Mother and daughter go out into the mountains together to pluck vine leaves in the vineyards of the house, and go together into the kitchen garden in front of the house to fetch vegetables (Topzawa). The daughters-in-law of the house go to the fruit garden to pick figs (Serkan). Water is found within the precincts of the house (Topzawa, Sargalu). 462 252

Water is fetched by the children or the servant girl. At Mirza Rustam it is fetched from the river by donkey and then emptied into petrol cans in the courtyard. [312]

The collection of fuel in the mountains is performed by the maid servant of the house who has with her an axe with a crescent-shaped blade, and a donkey. Charcoal is fetched by men with donkeys (Topzawa). Washing-up is done by the servants. These can be either male (Sargalu, Serkan) or female. [592] [372]

The washing of clothes is done by the women of the house assisted by the servants—the same applies to ironing. Cleaning and bed-making is performed by all the women of the house in association. [296] [592]

To sum up: the activities that take place within the area of the house and those in its immediate neighbourhood, that is to say the kitchen garden, the orchard, vineyard etc. are attended to by the adult women of the village aristocracy assisted by the children and servants available, the work being distributed as in Europe.

The activities taking place outside the precincts of the home, such as milking the sheep and goats in the care of the village shepherd, are attended to by the servants of the house. [592]

The ordinary village milieu. The baking of bread in the earth oven is undertaken simultaneously by several women from different homes. The earth oven can be placed outside the house. At Mirza Rustam there was one on an open space between the houses. In Balkha and other places where iron sheets were used instead of ovens, baking was done at home by the individual housewife alone. 252

The treatment of milk. The women go out into the mountains or to the mulberry plantations twice during the day to meet the shepherd. In Balkha the women took turns in giving each other the due quantity of milk. Churning was done in each home, the churning sack being suspended from a frame outside the house. 252 234

The making of tea could either be undertaken by women or by men. [462]

Water was fetched in clay jars, petrol tins and goatskins from common water basins far from the houses by women. It could be a constant and troublesome affair as at Balkha, where 3-4 goatskins had to be transported from the valley up to the village, the necessary water supply for 4-5 persons, or as in Mirza Rustam when water in petrol tins must be fetched from the river over 800 paces from the village houses. 312 415

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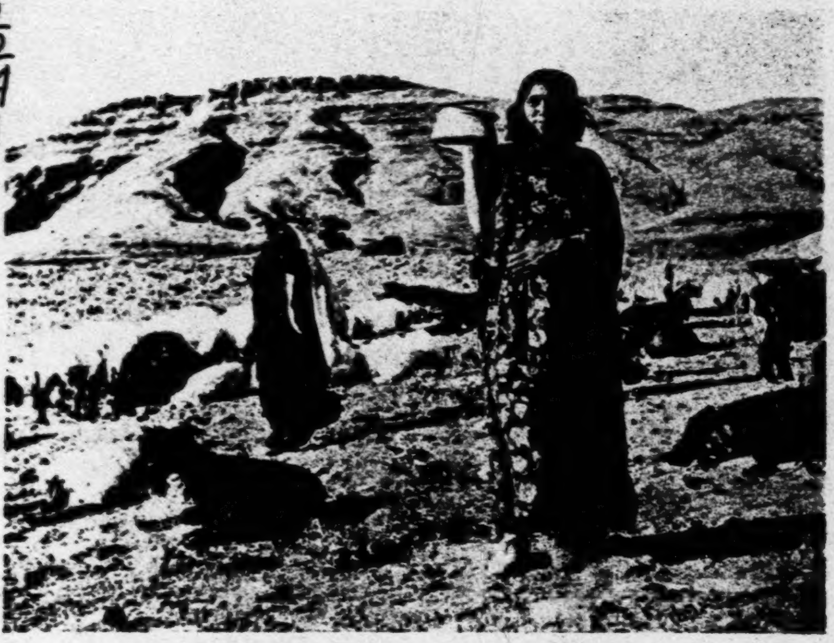

Fig. 39. Village women go out in the mountains to meet shepherd twice a day. Topzawa.

462 Fuel is collected in the mountains by women with axes and carried home on the back. Cattle dung
512 is collected in the mountains, kneaded with straw and dried into cakes on the wall of the house.
[312] The rinsing of rice takes place at the water basin from which water is fetched, often far from the
[402] home. Wheaten grain is ground in the house of a neighbour who owns a quern.
Cooking and washing up is done at home, whilst the washing of clothes takes place at the spring
basin in small villages and at big, covered parochial basins in the larger ones, by all the women in
[296] association. The clothes are laid out to dry at the same place. Beds are made by all the women of the
house working together. When the family slept on the roof the bedding remained there, but was rolled
[356] up during the day. An extra task at Balkha was the glazing of the roof with a mixture of clay and
chalk; this was done collectively at the various homes in turn. To sum up: Apart from the cooking of
[476] food and bed making, a great part of the domestic activities take place outside the home and are
performed by the women of the village collectively. In Balkha the distribution of milk and the treatment of the roofs were also collective.

Educated and uneducated urban environment can be considered together.

Bread was obtained in three ways. In the home of my interpreter at Sulaimani it was baked at home 369
on an iron sheet by the women of the house. Collective baking of a larger quantity, the dough being [252]
prepared by a woman who arrived at dawn, was undertaken in a neighbouring house with an earth 467
oven that was lent for the day. The 4-5 women of the house, plus the woman who had prepared the
dough, took part in this, three and three at a time, but none of the women in the house possessing 512
the oven participated in the baking. The third possibility was to purchase ready-baked bread, sheets,
of a thicker and coarser quality from the Sulaimani bakeries, which were equipped with earth ovens [443]
built into the walls. These were operated by men.

The treatment of milk is not met with in this milieu. *Mast* is delivered daily from outside. Snow to
be put in *mastaw* is fetched from the *suq* by one of the lads, carried home on his head, rinsed under [262]
the pump, and placed in the pitcher. The annual consumption of butter—about 10 petrol cans full costing about £1 each—is bought in bulk in the form of clarified butter. Tea is made by the eldest wife. The accessories for tea are disintegrating; the primus stove has replaced the iron basin and samovar, the bucket the finger bowl.

Cooking is done by the adult women, wives and daughters, in turn. *Kabab* is made specially by the [252]
husband[75] over a low charcoal basin. There is no fetching of water as good municipal water is laid
on, with several taps. [312]

When needed, *kabab* could be bought, and was, at the open food stalls in the city. Meat, vegetables
and fruit were bought in the *suq* by the husband and delivered by an errand-boy. Cooking was either [443]
done over the fire in the cooking pit or on the oil stove—in both cases by the women of the house. An extra task, unknown in the village milieu, was the cleaning of grain. Grain in large consignments is purchased from the peasants in August after the harvest and treshing. It is put into sacks stitched
together, loaded onto a donkey, and brought by the vendor to the house where it is unloaded in the [243]
hall, washed by the women of the house, and carried up to the roof to dry on outspread sacks for several days. The grain is then poured down into the courtyard and cleaned by being cast from metal trays into the air, whereafter it is sifted by a half-blind grain cleaner woman summoned for the purpose. The discarded grain is submitted to a further cleaning and drying, and then all of it is sent to be ground.

Washing-up and cleaning are the tasks of the daughters of the house. Washing of clothes and ironing take place at home. Beds are made by the wives and daughters jointly.

To sum up: Certain activities, such as the treatment of milk and the production of butter and cheese, the fetching of water and fuel, do not exist. The town provides the possibility of purchasing bread and prepared food. The remainder of the domestic activities are carried out jointly within ones own
or somebody else's home. Grain, but not flour, is bought and further processed. There is no permanent [357]
staff of servants, but women can be obtained, if required, for things like the cleaning of grain and
baking. I did not observe any cases of collective work between neighbours. [476]

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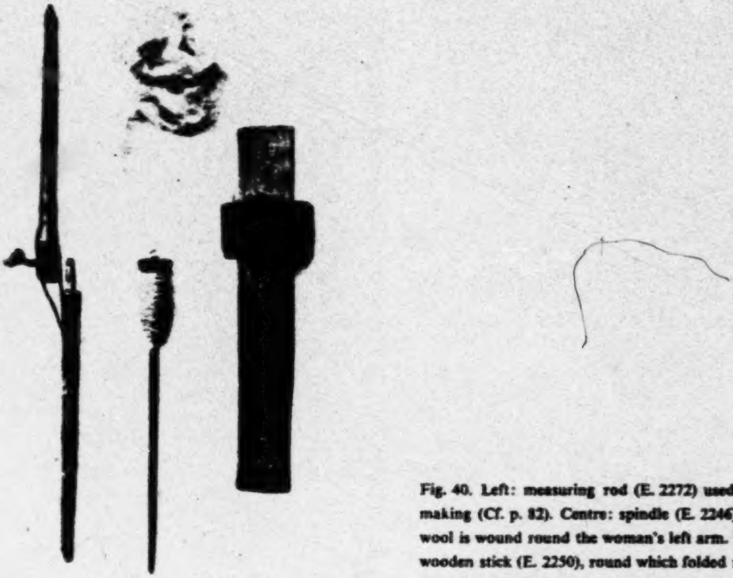

Fig. 40. Left: measuring rod (E. 2272) used in dress-making (Cf. p. 82). Centre: spindle (E. 2246). The raw wool is wound round the woman's left arm. Right: flat wooden stick (E. 2250), round which folded material is wound and boiled to get pleated. (Cf. fig. 45).

DOMESTIC INDUSTRY

286
462 Domestic industry is only found within one of the four environments, the humble village milieu.
369 There it comprises spinning, weaving and the production of clay vessels.

[323] Spinning was the occupation of the humble peasant woman when not engaged on other domestic tasks. In Tawella the women even span during their long walk to and from the orchads.

Spinning is done on a spindle, *tášī*, (E. 2246) a round stick about 0.30 m. in length, the upper end of which carries the disc-shaped spindlewhorl of about 0.033 m. in diameter. The raw wool from sheep and goats is wound round the woman's left underarm. The spun thread, which is not dyed but
283 used in its natural colours, that is to say black-brown, yellow-brown or white, the women plait into harvest ropes. Whilst making the rope the woman sits on the ground with outstreched legs, the big toe of the one foot being used to secure the one end of the rope.

286 Large quantities of yarn are supplied to the weavers, female and male, in the village, the coarser quality undyed (yarn sample, E. 2252) intended for smooth-woven rugs, the finer quality undyed white or dyed brown or grey (yarn sample, E. 2247) intended for material for men's clothes. The

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production of knotted carpets with dyed yarn I had no opportunity of observing as they are not made in the area I visited.

Weaving was done on two different types of loom, *tăwan*, the one vertical, the other horizontal. The verticle type is a Penelope loom and, as Poul Andersen[76] stresses, is not so much a cohesive implement as an "arrangement" carrying a vertically-hung warp. The device is placed in front of a wall in the work room, which in the two cases I had an opportunity to study this type of loom, was the windowless storeroom of the house, the light being obtained from the door. The room also contained clay corn silos, sacks with wool, a sitting hen and so forth. The loom consists of two man-high, barked, irregular tree trunks, *kălaka*, ending at the top in a fork. They are placed at a distance from each other of about 1.50 m. At the top they lean against the ceiling, and at the bottom each is planted in a built-up clay cone. These two side poles carry a transverse bar, *sär-dār*, over which the warp, *po*[77], is hung, and below, inserted into two holes just above the clay cones, another transverse bar, *žēr-dār*, to which the lowest part of the warp is attached by a rope wound round the pole. The vertical interval between the transverse bars is about 2.80 m. The warping board for the arrangement of the warp before it is hung up on the loom, consists only of two wooden sticks, about 2.80 m. distant from each other, stuck into the ground in the courtyard[78] outside the room. On them the weaving yarn is wound. Here two women work together. The warp is then lifted off the sticks, and tied to the loom. In order to be able to distribute the threads of the warp regularly on the upper bar, the weaver ascends a scaffold between the loom and the wall. This consists of two forks about 1 m. high planted in clay cones. They carry a transverse stick roughly 1.40 m. long on which the woman can move backwards and forwards. The shaft, about 1.60 m. long, is suspended in front of the warp by strings fastened to the forks of the two side poles. When every other warp thread has been attached to the shaft by means of the heddles, the former is pulled forward to form the shed, and 2-3 cloth slippers are stuck in at each end between the side poles and the shaft to ensure that the shed is firm. The shed-stick, *paš-gurd*, is a thin bamboo stick about 1.50 m. long inserted into the warp above the shaft. During weaving the shed stick is moved whilst the shaft is secured. Only when the weaving, which begins from the bottom, necessitates it, is the shaft loosened by removing the slippers, the suspending strings shortened, and the shaft tightened again. The passage of the ball of wool that introduces the weft is prepared by a long iron needle passed horizontally in between the threads. A shuttle is not

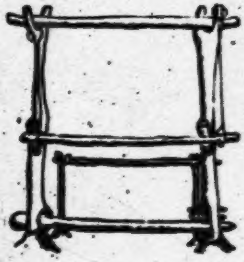

Fig. 41. Construction of the vertical loom. Two man-high trunks planted in clay cones and carrying two horizontal bars for the warp. In front hangs the shaft. Behind: a scaffold upon which the woman ascends to hang up the warp.

286 used with this type of weaving. The weft is beaten in with a hand-shaped iron comb fitted with a cylindrical wooden handle mounted at right angles, *kâlkit*[79].

[191] This vertical loom, known also from Armenia[80], is used for the making of the plain-woollen rugs that are used to cover the heaped bedclothes during the day. One such rug (E. 2253), measures 1.48 m. · 2.80 m., has a warp of sheep's wool, *xûri* (?), and a weft of goat's wool, *frût*. This type of loom I only saw worked by women. So far as I could ascertain there is only one female weaver in each village. At Topzawa the loom was owned by a widow, who apparently possessed no family and [589] kept herself and her daughter by working the loom with the wool spun by the women of the village. The loom in the twin village of Rakawa was worked by an elderly woman whose son, with whom she lived, was the village *muxtâr*.

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[191] The horizontal loom is a pit-treadle loom[81]. According to Ling Roth[82] it is the normal Hindu loom. Leach provides an excellently-drawn and thorough description of a loom of this kind in the Rowanduz district[83], though on a few points it differs from the example brought back from Tawella (E. 2249a–v). The loom type is a hand-treadle loom with finite warp. On being set up the floor forms a horizontal plane through the loom's mechanism, as certain parts of the loom, such as the warp-beam, the raddle-beam, a stand that swings back the sley-reed, and the cloth-beam rest on the ground, whilst a pit under the loom houses the treadles and the weaver's legs which are thus below the surface of the floor. At the same time the heddle, counterheddle and sley reed hang from the ceiling over the loom. The cord that keeps the warp taut passes from the warp-beam, fastened to the floor, up to a hook in the ceiling. From there the cord runs down by the side, or rear, of the weaver where it is fastened so close to him that it easily can be loosened, thus prolonging the warp, as the work proceeds[84].

The individual parts of the loom are as follows: Nearest to the weaver is the square-sectioned cloth- or breast-beam, which, in an oblong groove, takes the approx. 0.43 m. long rod, hidden by the wound-up material, to which the warp is fastened. The cloth- or breast-beam, 0.735 m. in length, attached to a pair of small uprights, can be locked at each revolution. The suspended sley-reed can be swung towards the weaver. The sley[85] is a rectangular frame 0.89 m. × 0.29 m. that can be dismantled so that combs or reeds, *lâna*, of various degrees of fineness can be changed. The sley-reed is inserted between two split bamboo sticks, 0.595 m. long, connected with two forked uprights on an 0.83 m. long transverse stick, fastened to the ground, which serves to swing back the sley-reed when this is released by the weaver. The sley-reed is suspended from a rope 2.80 m. long that passes through a hook in the ceiling. The other end of the rope carries two pear-shaped pulley-blocks which again carry by a short rope the heddle and counter heddle, each consisting of two transverse sticks with threads between. In the middle of the heddles there is an eye through which passes the thread of the warp, which is led through a reed in the sley-reed, so that every other warp thread passes through an eye on the one shaft and every other one through an eye on the other. From the lowest transverse stick on the shafts hang two transverse wooden sticks round which leather straps are stretched which in turn carry the treadles, a pair of wooden blocks about 0.25 m. long connected by a transverse stick. By alternately depressing these treadles the warp is divided so that every other warp thread is raised

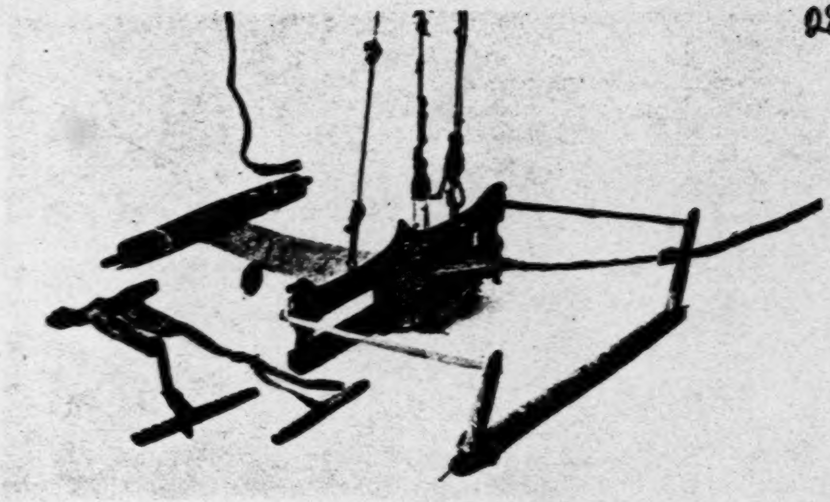

Fig. 42. Transportable parts of the horizontal pit-treadle loom (E. 2249a-v). Left: the breast-beam. Beside the warp lays the shuttle. Centre: the sley-reed, the heddle and counter heddle. Right: the stand that swings the sley-reed. The treadles with leather straps are spread out in front.

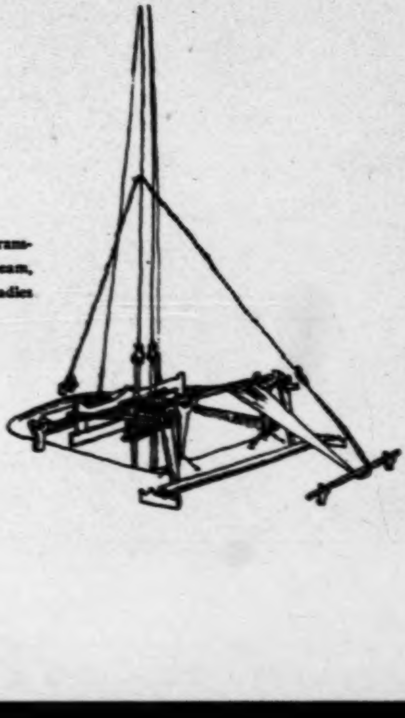

Fig. 43. Construction of the horizontal pit-treadle loom. The transportable parts (cf. fig. 42) have been supplemented by raddle-beam, warp-beam and two small uprights for the breast-beam. The treadles hang down into the pit.

286 and every other lowered, an opening being thus formed for the introduction of the woof. Behind the suspended shafts the warp continues over the raddle-beam, a round stick about 0.75 m. placed horizontally upon two forks anchored in two clay cones, then passes under the warp beam resting on the ground, whereafter it continues in a rope some 7 m. in length which, as mentioned above, passes over a fixture in the ceiling and descends by the side of the operator where the rope is fastened to a hook and can be loosened at will thus releasing more warp as this gradually becomes necessary.

The woof is introduced with the help of a boat-shaped shuttle of wood, *makŏ*, (E. 2248), 0.165 m. long, containing an iron spool, *lūla*, round which the yarn is wound[86]. The material woven on this vertical pit treadle loom can be 0.30 m. wide and be used, for example, for sacks, *kerâre*, (E. 2251), or it can be woven only 0.16 m. wide, quite thin, and be used for men's clothing. In the latter case the yarn is stretched beforehand in an open space in the village (Sargalu) on 17 forked wooden sticks [62] and sprinkled with a decoction of lime. Men and women work together at this, and weaving could

Fig. 44. Before weaving, the yarn is stretched out in an open place on forked wooden sticks and sprinkled with a decoction of lime. Sargalu.

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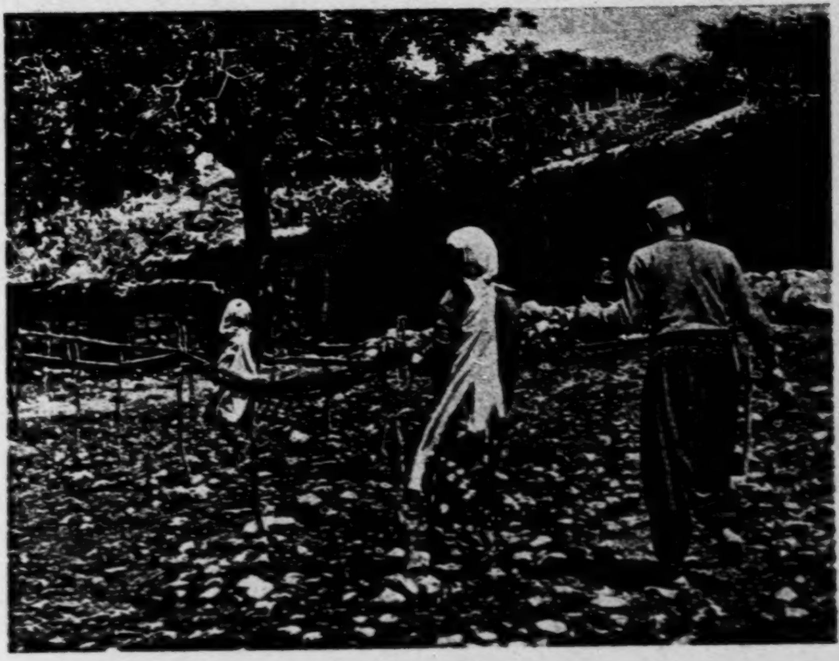

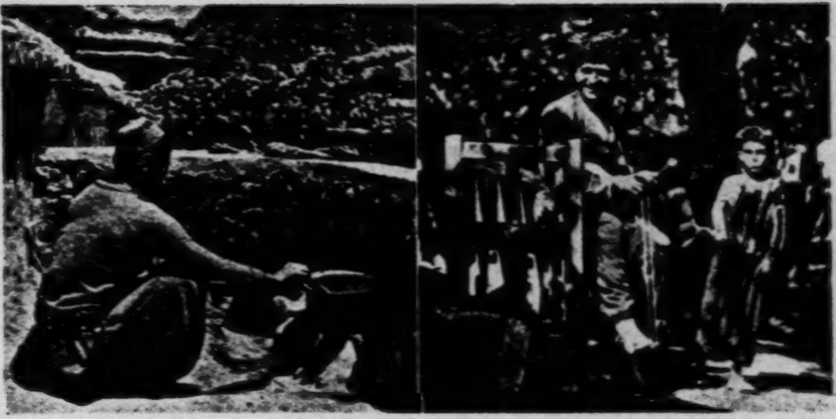

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Fig. 45. Material folded round a stick is boiled in a pot. (Cf. fig. 40). Sargalu.
Fig. 46. When plaiting a rope the foot is used both by men and women. Balkha.

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be done by either men or women. On the other hand I only saw men weaving sacks (Mirza Rustam). [962] After the material of narrow widths has been woven in suitable lengths for jackets (8 yds.) and trousers (12 yds.), respectively, it is "pleated". The narrow piece of material is folded to a third or quarter of its width, wound around a flat wooden stick (E. 2250), 0.35 m. long, and secured by a stitch or so. The wound material is then boiled in a pot for a few minutes, unwound from the stick and stretched out to dry in its folded state. After this the material is permanently pleated with two or three sharp pleats in each cloth breadth (cf. fig. 40).

The production of clay vessels. These are both glazed and unglazed red clay vessels. The glazed type 323 are sold in the *sūq* of the bigger provincial towns where the women buy them for storing various things, including butter.

The unglazed vessel (E. 2259) is used to fetch water from wells and basins and for putting drinking 323 water into shady spots in the courtyard to keep cool. These unglazed vessels are produced of local 415 clay in the villages. They are not made by the individual woman for her own use, but by a pair of [463] specially expert women working together with a view to sale. The jars, which are more or less bottle-shaped are built up of clay coils without the aid of a potter's wheel[47]. They are then polished inside and out, fitted on the side with a bent handle between the body and neck, and decorated with a curved rim affixed to the body opposite the handle. It is then further embellished by stick impressions [531] on the rim and an engraved longitudinal groove on the outer side of the handle. When the jars that [illegible]

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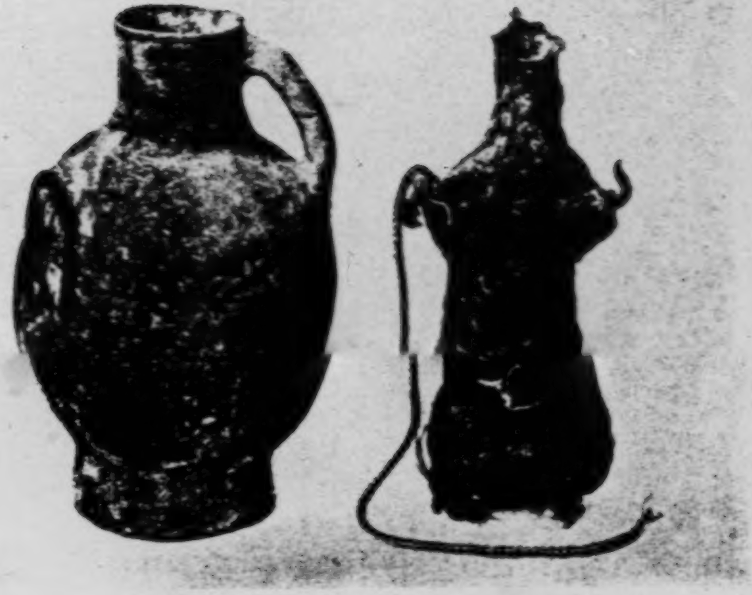


Fig. 47. Left: bottle shaped jar with handle (E. 2259). Topzawa.
Right: milk container made of a whole tanned kid skin (E. 2258). Balkha.

When the jars that

323 I had an opportunity to watch being modelled were formed, they were dried in the sun where they assumed a greyish tint; thereafter about ten at a time arranged in a pile, a larger jar being placed on its side in the middle. The others, placed in a circle, lean up against this. This pile, resting on the ground out of doors some distance from the house, is then covered by a mound formed of flat briquettes made of cattle dung kneaded with straw and dried on the walls of the house. Firing lasts three hours, after which the jars are placed on one of the flat roofs of the house to cool. The colour of the finished jars is reddish-brown with black traces of the firing (cf. E. 2259, bottle-shaped, 1.385 m. high).

Under the production of clay vessels must also be reckoned the making of the rectangular type of large grain silos or decorated with rims. These are of dried clay, neither fired nor glazed, to be found in the store rooms in villages.

CHAPTER III

APPEARANCE

Woman's dress. The appearance of Kurdish women is created by her dress, her jewellery and beauty culture. For the prosperous the dress materials are: silk, artificial silk, brocade, satin and velvet. Light colours for the young, dark for their elders. The predominant colours are: crimson, purple, turquoise, rose and green. Woman's dress, *jilik*, consists of elements essentially Kurdish in form and composition, elements connected with Islam, and elements introduced from Western culture. 291 [556] [177]

Kurdish elements. Trousers, *dwâl-k'râs*, (E. 2333, E. 2339) are about 1 m. long and about 2.30 m. wide at the top. Here they are gathered with a casing and rest on the hips. At the extremities each trouser leg is 1.15 m. wide and gathered around the ankles[1] with a draw string. From the point of view of cut they are legging trousers[2] with an inserted square gusset 0.25 m. × 0.25 m. The upper part of the trousers is of white cotton material, the lower part of coloured cloth of, say, cotton, taffeta or brocade[3].

Shift or petticoat, *žêr-k'râs*, (E. 2334) is about 0.90 m. long with large arm openings and large, round neckline, identical front and back. The width above is 1.20 m., below 1.70 m. so that it does not tighten when the woman sits tailor fashion. It comes down over the knees hiding the uppermost white section of the trousers. The material is shiny, coloured artificial silk.

The gown or kirtle, *k'râs*[4], (E. 2335, 2340, 2350), is 1.28 m. to 1.36 m. long and drags along the ground. In cut it is a poncho gown[5] with inserted side gores, small circular neck line with short vent[6]. The sleeves are 0.40 m. wide, attached to the body at right angles and ending in funnel-shaped cuffs, the length of which, is 0.85 m. to 1.10 m. These cuffs are pulled out through the sleeves of garments worn on top in cold weather (coat or caftan, or both) and wound around the under arm. In warm weather, when there are no outer garments, the cuffs are tied in a knot at the points and thrown over the back, leaving the sleeves open and half-length[7]. During prayer the tied cuffs are undone so that they hang out over the hands, the tips reaching the ground. The material of the kirtle can be dark, flowered cotton or patterned chiffon. During work the kirtle may be shortened by being pushed down half-way under the casing of the trousers.

The waistcoat, *saxmâ*, (E. 2336, E. 2341) 0.36 m. to 0.40 m. long and 0.40 m. broad consists of two bodice fronts and one back, joined by slanting shoulder seams and straight side seams, or cut out of one piece of material bent in from each side so that it only has the slanting shoulder seams. It has big, enlarged armholes. The material is cotton or brocade in strong colours, lined with white cotton.

[P. 65]

[Text continues top of p. 68--Analyst]

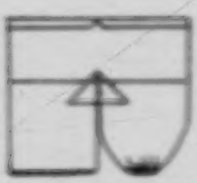


Fig. 48. Diagram. Cut of woman's trousers (E. 2331). Scale 1:30.

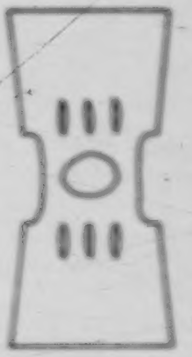
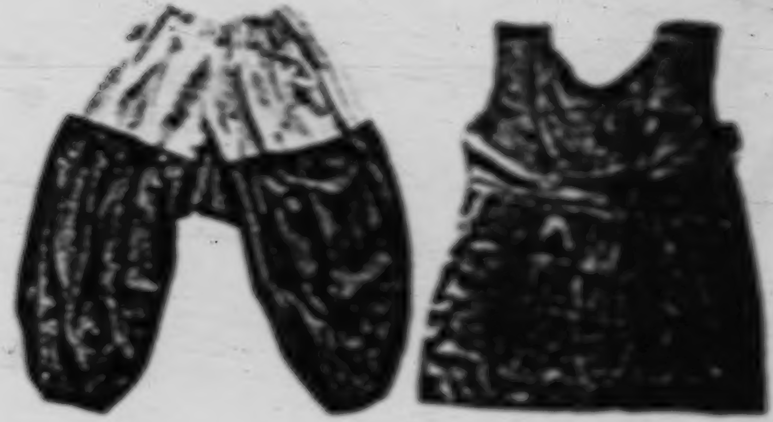


Fig. 49. Diagram. Cut of woman's shift (E. 2330). Front and back in one piece. Scale 1:30.

Fig. 50. Woman's trousers (E. 2331) of pink taffeta and white cotton, shift (E. 2330) of pink artificial silk.



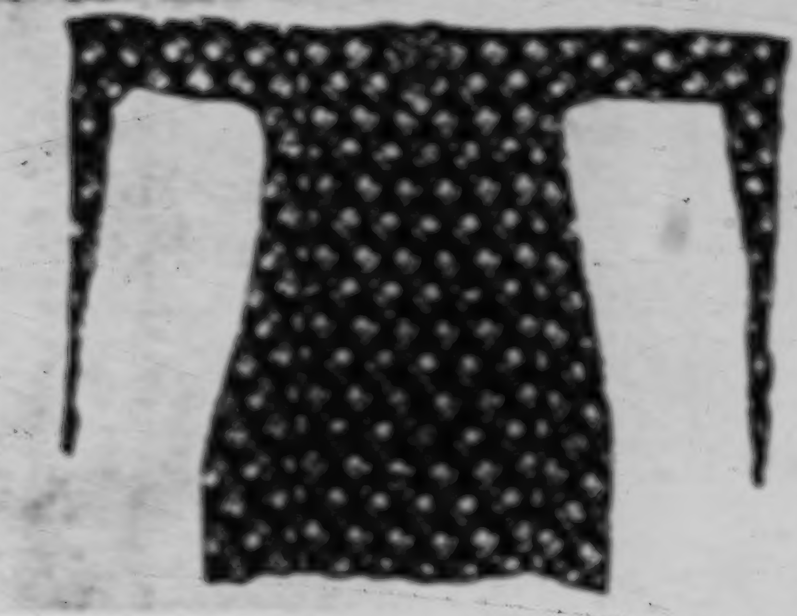


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Fig. [illegible]

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Fig. [illegible]

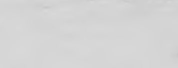

Fig. [illegible]

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In a few instances the bodice front is of finer material than the back, which is intended to be covered by other articles of clothing. (E. 2341).

The jacket, salta, is a little longer than the waistcoat and has long, rather narrow sleeves. In cut it is a shortened pseudo-caftan with sleeves cut in prolongation of the body with added sleeve length, no shoulder seams, straight side seams. The material coloured brocade lined with white cotton, slightly padded between lining and outer cloth.

The caftan, kavad, (E. 2342, E. 2351) is 1.20 m. to 1.40 m. long and a span of 1.20 m. to 1.60 m. In cut it is a pseudo-caftan with inserted side gores. Narrow sleeves cut in prolongation of the body with added sleeve length. Along the vertical opening at the front of this trumpet-like piece of clothing two gores are added which overlap each other when the garment is put on; it thus has a "false central opening". The lowest part of the slanting side seams are open, and at hip height there is a seam that leads into a pocket and also serves to take the lower corners of the bodice front when the caftan is pinned up in order not to drag. The material is brocade interwoven with metal, lined with white cotton stuff. Between the cloth and the lining there is quilted padding.

The cap, k'ulo, (E. 2344) is a black felt skull-cap with slightly sloping sides, containing black stitching and black fringes along the edge. Its height is about 0.10 m., diameter about 0.20 m. At the top of the crown a silver knob is seen from which to hang the neck veil. At the side is seen the one end of a chain round the chin, about 0.30 m. long, consisting either of glass beads or of coins placed quite close to each other. The chain ends in a big metal hook that is set firmly into the cap. The cap may

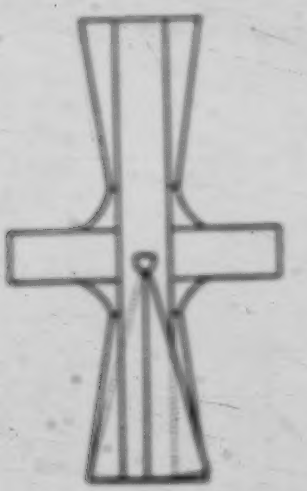

Fig. 56. Diagram. Cut of the caftan (E. 2342). Scale 1:20.

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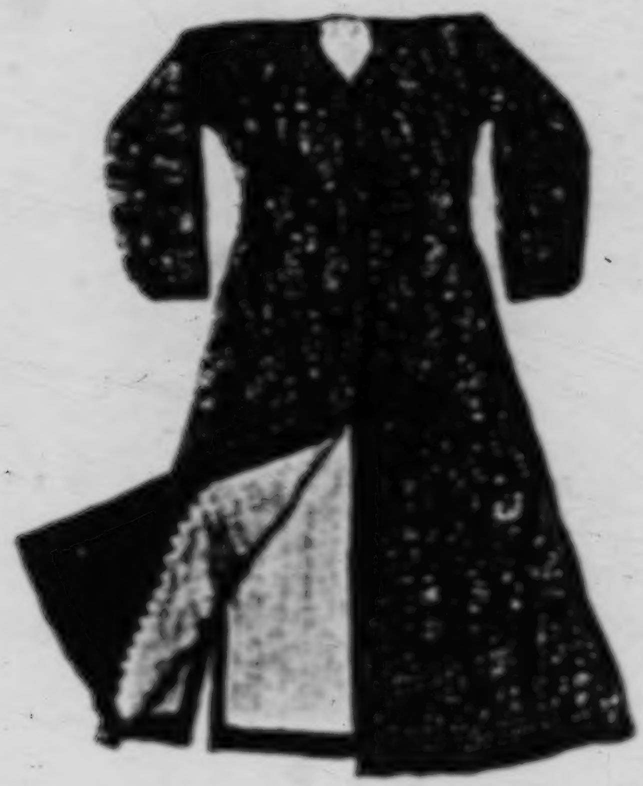

Fig. 53. [illegible] (E. 2362) of violet brocade, wadded and quilted, lined with white cotton.

The cap may

291 | 301 have a small amulet packet sewn on to it, and genuine or imitation jewels. In a provincial town like, say, Halabja, the cap (E. 2332) was not concealed by any form of wound turban and could be sewn all over with large Persian silver coins overlapping each other like tiles (E. 2298). At most other places, however, the turban and brow cloth belonged to the headdress.

The neck veil, *dasmal*, possibly also *jinawa*[14], (E. 2342) is triangular. It is attached by a loop in the middle of the long side to a coin on the top of the cap, and covers the neck. The point of the neck veil hangs down the back, whilst the two long narrowing ends are crossed in front, led over the shoulders, and tied together at the neck. The material is coarse, coloured cotton tulle[15].

The shoulder cloth (E. 2343) is rectangular, 0.96 m. × 0.96 m. There are 27 tassels in a row on each side of the two opposite sides. The cloth is placed over the shoulders so that the tasselled sides hang vertically down the back[16], the two upper corners being pinned together under the chin[17]. The material is unlined brocade.

The turban cloth[18], *sarbân*, (E. 2346), is 1.50 m. long, sewn of two layers of narrow bias strips of brocade. In the centre it is 0.13 m. wide and tapers away to both ends, the one side being straight, the other forming a concave arc. Along the straight side 22 tassels are distributed. The turban cloth ends as a double plait at both ends, being finished off with tassels. Its full length is thus 2.20 m. The turban cloth is folded double along its length with the tassels outside, and is wound like a broad band twice around the cap. The centre of the cloth is placed on the neck. It crosses over the brow and is

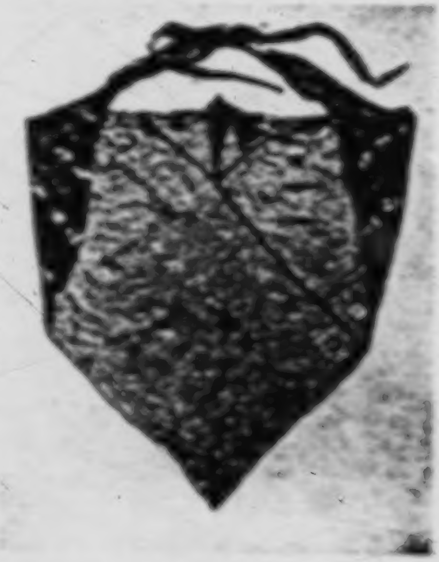

Fig. 36. Neck veil (E. 2342) of light blue coarse tulle interwoven with silver threads. Fastened to the cap by a loop, hanging down the back, whilst the two narrowing ends are crossed over the breast and tied behind the neck.

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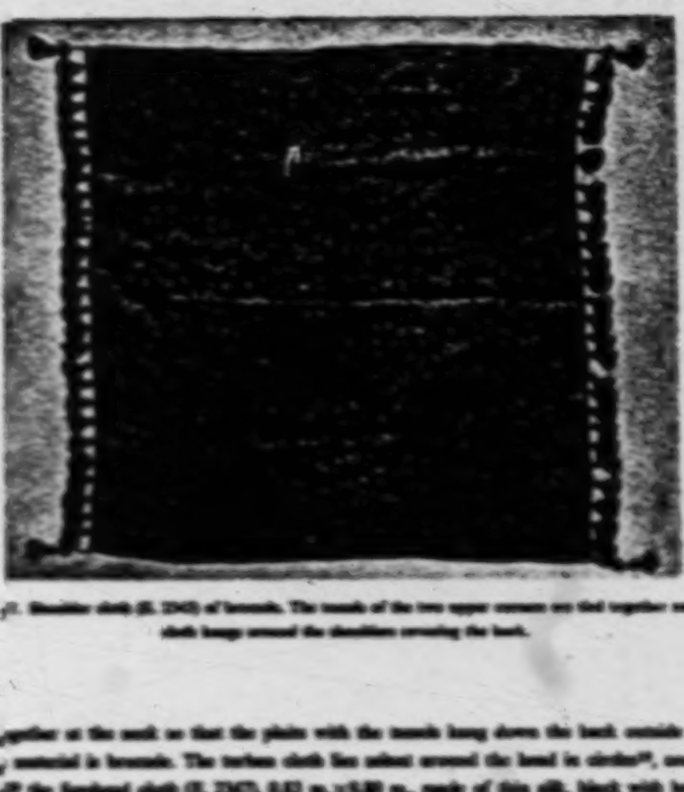

Fig. 57. Shoulder cloth (E. 2343) of brocade. The tassels of the two upper corners are tied together and the cloth hangs around the shoulders covering the back.

bound together at the neck so that the plaits with the tassels hang down the back outside the neck veil. The material is brocade. The turban cloth lies [illegible] around the head in circles[27], and outside is bound[28] the forehead cloth (E. 2347), 0.83 m. × 0.80 m., made of thin silk, black with brown and white pattern, a quite different colour scheme from that distinguishing the other elements of the dress where aubergine, crimson and turquoise predominate. It is folded diagonally and tied clockwise over the brow in the opposite direction to the turban cloth, is knotted at the neck, the ends being concealed under the wound cloth. Outside the turban, pinned [illegible], are chains of jewellery inset turquoise and Persian coins. 291

The head cloth or head veil, [illegible], (E. 2351, E. 2348) is 1.60 m. to 2.00 m. long and 0.72 m. to 0.84 m. wide, of thin gauze, white or coloured, seamless and hanging loose. A married woman places it over the turban, whilst an unmarried girl wears it direct on the hair where it constitutes her only headgear. Scarves or belts can be worn, but are not essential. The value of a married woman's dress of this kind, apart from jewellery, is about 10 Dn. = £10.

There can either be no footwear, if the woman prefers to go bare-footed as is often the case at home, or wooden slippers with a heel and a strap over the instep, qabqab, (E. 2338) 0.23 m. long, or perhaps

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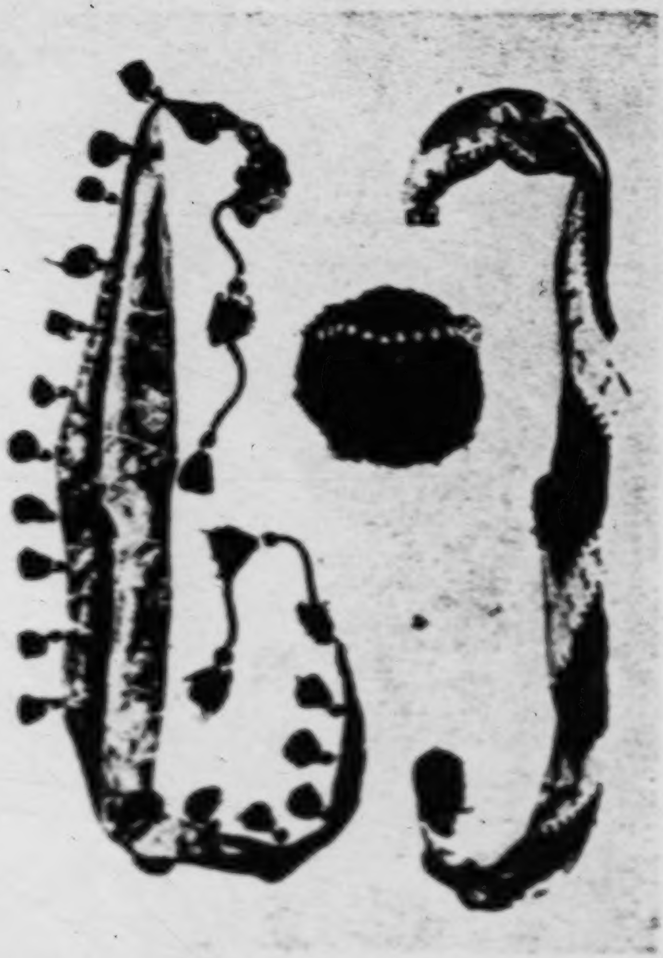

Fig. 58. The elements of the married woman's turban arrangement: cap (E. 2344) of black felt with chain (E. 2388) of blue glass beads, turban cloth (E. 2346) of brocade with tassels, and forehead cloth (E. 2347) of black, white, and brown patterned raw silk.

embroidered velvet slippers with built-in heels, *qondire* or *pâpuš*, (E. 2349) about 0.25 m. long. In both types the right and left foot are identical. European footwear of "Bata"'s make, from high-heeled black patent leather to summer shoes, was also seen. Women who were much in the mountains used discarded, down-at-heel men's shoes of European manufacture. 291 [177]

Elements connected with Islam. External garment and veil. In Southern Kurdistan in the form of cloak and face veil, *abâ-o-pičĕ*, which completely concealed both the face and body. 292

The face veil, *pičĕ*, (E. 2332) is rectangular, 0.46 m. × 0.45 m., made of thin, black, honeycomb-woven, gauze-woven silk. The two top corners of the veil are fastened together with a pin before being placed over the head. It hangs down in front of the whole face.

The cloak, *abâ*, (E. 2331) is rectangular with two horizontal shoulder seams 0.65 m. long. It is 1.70 m. long and 1.55 m. wide. Uppermost in each corner there is a vertical slit 0.10 m. long to allow the hands to be passed through. The cloak is made of two lengths of heavy, black silk material, 2.85 m. long and 0.85 m. broad, assembled by a seam running across the finished garment. In this fashion 291

[Text continues top of p. 75--analyst]

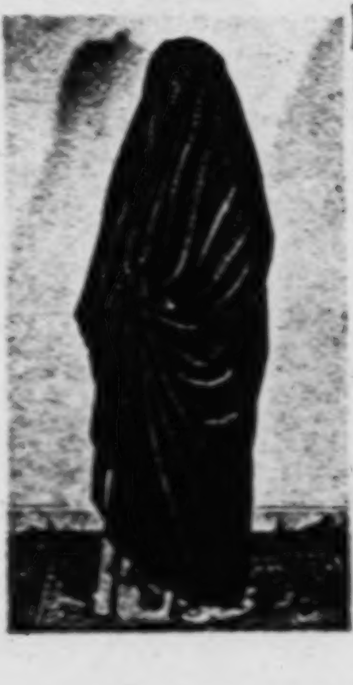

Fig. 59. Woman wearing the black veil and the black cloak, *abâ*, dressed for leaving the home. Sulaimani.

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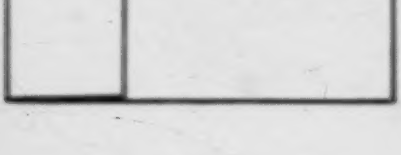
Fig. 60. Diagram showing the cut of the *abâ* (E. 2331). One side left open. The dotted lines indicate the tuck. Scale 1:30.



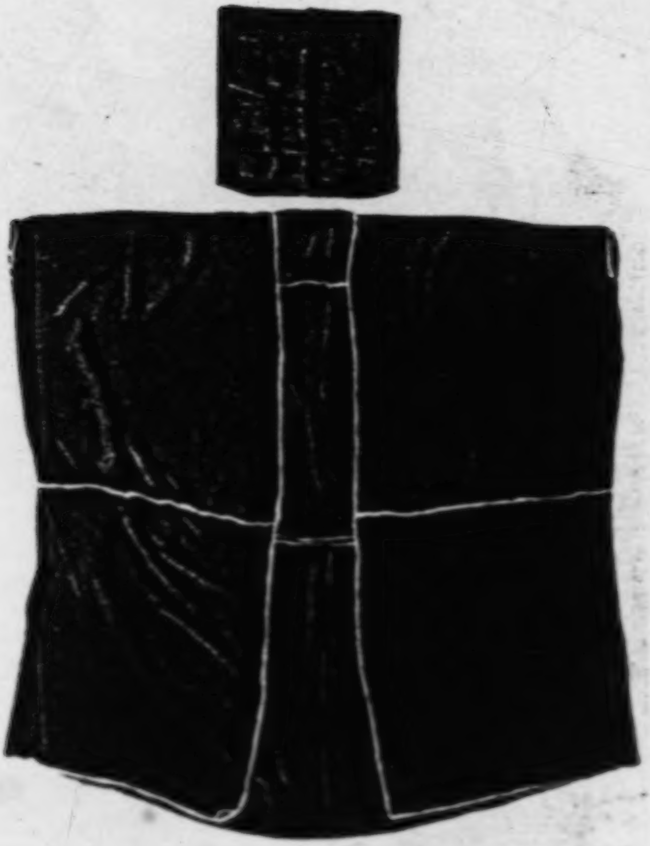


Fig. 66. Veil (E. 2332) and *aba* (E. 2331). The cut and the construction of the *aba* are indicated by means of white lines.

the cloak is purchased ready-made in the sūq. At home the woman sews in a tuck along the transverse 291
seam. This tuck is narrowest behind and in front, but broader at the side. This adjusts the garment
to her height and stops it trailing at the sides. The cloak is lifted over the head, outside the veil, and
assembled round the body, the woman's hands from inside grasping the front edges. The garment
covers the woman's body from brow to feet, completely hiding the dress below it.

Loans from Western culture. Long nightgown with puffed sleeves and sometimes an appurtenant 291
jacket both of rose silk. Is used as home dress. Is sewn at home or bought ready-made. Evening dresses 177
and summer dresses, knee-high of a style illustrated in fashion journals during the summer of 1957.
Either purchased ready-made or made at home in the form of complete dresses or blouses and skirts.
Wedding dress of white satin, long with long arms, embroidered with spangles. Bought ready-made
in Baghdad.

Distribution of the elements of woman's dress. Within the four female environments dress schemes were composed of elements of all three groups: the specially Kurdish, the Islamic, and the dress loans from the West. These dress schemes varied additionally in the case of unmarried and married women.

Village aristocracy. The dress consists of the following Kurdish elements: trousers, shift or 369
petticoat, gown or kirtle, waistcoat, jacket, caftan and head veil, the last always white for an un- 565
married woman, and, for married women, also skull cap, neck veil, shoulder cloth, turban cloth and 291
brow cloth worn under the head veil. At home the married woman often dispenses with the last
mentioned articles of dress. The materials are velvet, brocade, chiffon, voile and artificial silk. In
addition, exceptionally, coarse silk tulle for the kirtle interwoven with metal thread, and painted
nylon from Japan. All imported goods come from Europe, particularly France, from Syria and from [439]
Japan.

It is typical of the dress scheme that more or less clothes are worn to suit the temperature, but that 291
there is no set costume that varies according to the occasion. A woman of the village aristocracy in
the sheikh's home in Topzawa rolled out dough and baked in verdigris-green brocade trousers, satin
petticoat of the same colour, and black tulle kirtle with patches of gold thread. She milked the goats
clad in similarly magnificent materials. The best clothes were the newest and least worn. As mentioned
earlier (p. 37) women do not undress to go to bed, but sleep with all their clothes on, their heads [513]
swathed in a cloth. The sole articles of clothing not worn in bed are the turban, the neck-shoulder
cloth and brow cloth, that is to say the parts of dress connected with the turban. Kirtle, shift and
trousers could be washed and sometimes were, but the character of the dress does not make it im-
perative that it should be newly-washed or ironed. Cleanliness in regard to dress was non-existent. [296]
We must return to European periods like the Baroque and Rococo to find a similar dress effect based [171]
on magnificent material, which retained its splendour despite use, and the fact that no attempt was
made to clean it, which latter would be considered essential in modern Europe. The long, wide trousers
were always worn under the kirtle, the shift also. Only the padded outer pieces of clothing were put
on or taken off in colder or warmer weather.

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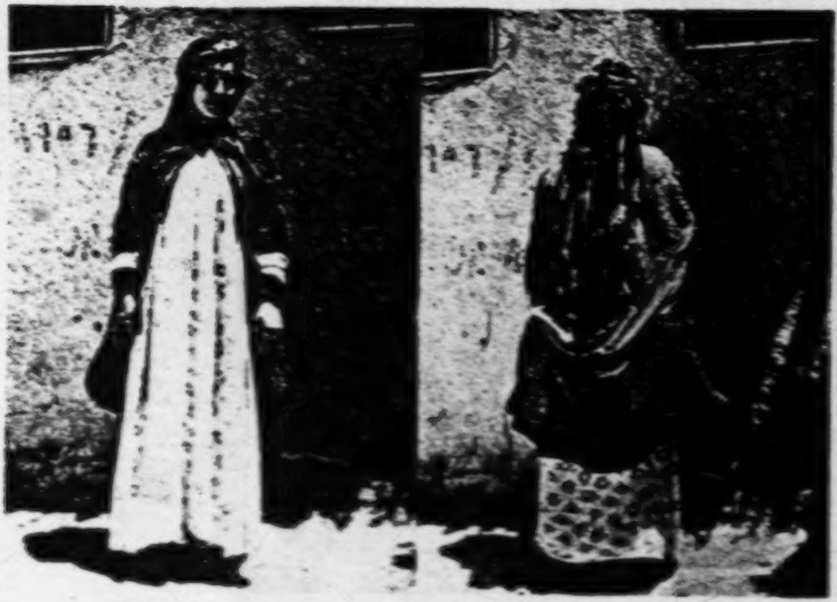

Fig. 62. Village aristocracy. Married woman's dress, front and back. Topzawa.

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The clothing elements connected with Islam: the black face veil and the black *abā*, do not enter into the dress scheme of the village aristocracy within the village area, but become obligatory when transferring from a village to an urban milieu, visiting, say, Sulaimani or places further distant like Kirkuk and Mosul.

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[565] *The ordinary peasant environment.* Here also dress consists of the specially Kurdish elements, that is a trouser-kirtle outfit with a head veil only for the unmarried women and the turban and its accessories for the married. (In the provincial town of Halabja no turban, but the whole skull cap covered with silver coins (E. 2352) and from it a neck and shoulder veil). The difference between the dress of the village aristocracy and the plain peasant women did not lie in the form or number of the garments but in their colour and material. The clothing of the peasant women was mainly composed of flowered cotton material of strong, dark colours. Whereas the head cloths in villages like Topzawa and Rakawa are mainly white, sometimes turquoise, the predominant colour in the village of Serkan is vermilion, and in Mirza Rustam black, *amy oil*, and dark colours. Here the turban arrangement is particularly large and the crown of the cap is covered by a big silver sheet[77]. During work at Topzawa the lower

peculiar to that village, is always used by the peasant women on their way to the fruit plantations at 369 Tawella. My interpreter told me that the women considered it indecent to show themselves without 291 this bundle on the back, an attitude similar to that found in Europe in the days of the bustle. During work in the fields I saw a kind of apron in use. This consisted of a large piece of canvas wrapped round the body, the two upper corners being tied together over the left shoulder. A similar protective apron was worn in the village of Derkan whilst threading tobacco leaves on a string. Another type of dress [292] I discovered was worn—so far as I was given to understand—by new arrivals in Topzawa, and was [177] a little contemptuously described as "Persian dress". This was also a trouser costume, but comprised of an extra long kirtle lifted up over a low-sitting belt with metal furnishings consisting of a large and several smaller silver bosses[22]. No turban was worn with this dress, but a hood with two long flaps that hung down the back. In the same way the head jewellery, a triple chain of coins, was of a different type from that worn by the other women in the village. It was stated to be typical of Hauraman[23]. As with the village aristocracy the plain peasant women don the black veil and *abá* when visiting towns.

The educated urban environment evinces a highly heterogeneous picture from the point of view of dress[24]. If I review the various dress types in which my interpreter appeared in the course of our four month cooperation, it will serve to explain what I mean. Her two most important articles of clothing, without which she never left the home, were, as for other urban women unlike the women in the two village environments, the black face veil and *abá*. Under this her dress could be a costume composed [292] of genuine Kurdish elements, in composition quite like the daughter's dress in the aristocratic village milieu, except that the material and light colours that were exceptional in villages here were the rule. In addition she always wore a belt round her waist, a thing worn only exceptionally by young women of the village, whilst at the same time retaining as usual the trouser casing round her hips—an arrangement she transferred to European panties which she rolled down over the hips, never wearing the elastic round her waist. At the same time, like her teacher colleagues, she showed a tendency to prefer [177] kirtles of coarsely-woven tulle or transparent that they disclosed the fashioned European petticoats which in this female environment had replaced the loose-sitting shift. Her married colleagues did not wear the turban arrangement and their jewellery was worn in the form of a chain (E. 2293) placed along the edge of the waistcoat or as a belt around the waist. Under the black *abá* my interpreter 291 might have a long rose nightgown with or without its appurtenant jacket, her home and sleeping dress. Inspired by the European nightgown, this article of clothing, like men's pyjamas, is not in the Kurdish 369 dressing scheme specially a night garment, but is worn all round the clock—a European garment 177 adopted to Kurdish custom. She might wear blouse and skirt or a complete dress tailored or ready-made in precisely the same style as the European-American, though, in accordance with Kurdish custom, it was also slept in. In this educated urban milieu the "white bride" dress had also been adopted. At their weddings both my interpreter's sisters wore a long white wedding dress with a short white veil. The underwear that went with it was also European except that garters were worn instead of a [293] girdle. This adoption of European dress elements meant a breach of the normal pattern: that day

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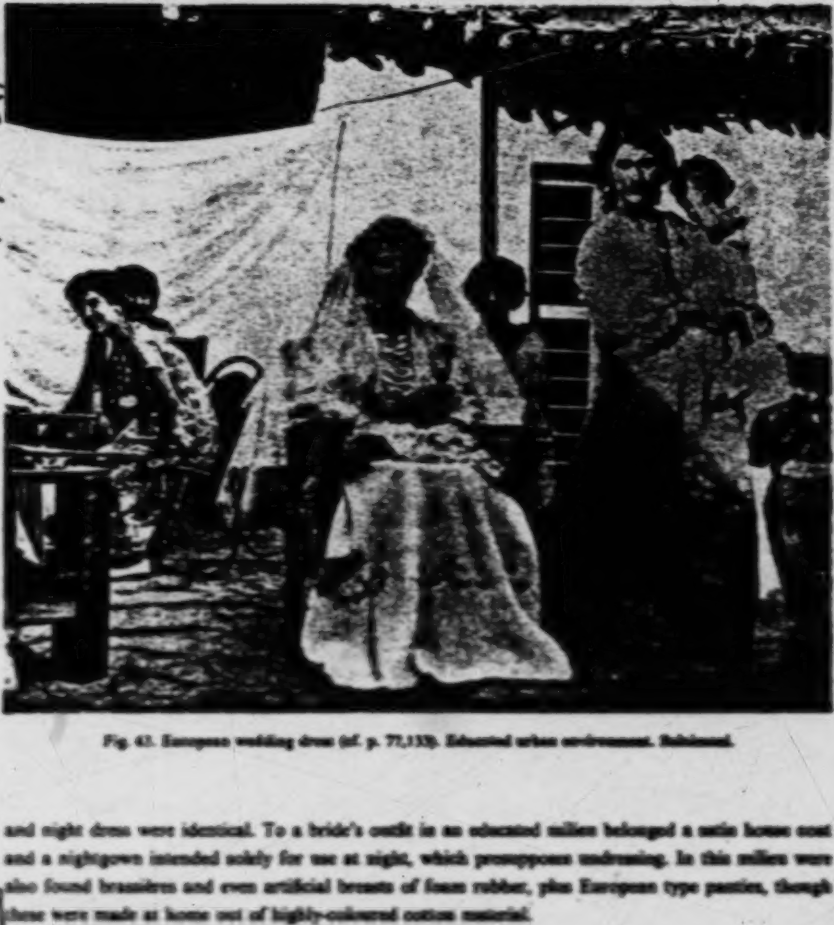

Fig. 43. European wedding dress (cf. p. 77,133). Educated urban environment. Sulaimani.

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and night dress were identical. To a bride's outfit in an educated milieu belonged a satin house coat and a nightgown intended solely for use at night, which presupposes undressing. In this milieu were also found brassières and even artificial breasts of foam rubber, plus European type panties, though these were made at home out of highly-coloured cotton material.

The following is typical of the educated urban environment:

The upper garments connected with Islam are the most important dress elements. The Kurdish elements are retained but are only used now and again. Dresses are degenerating in regard to material, and also appeared to be in course of dissolution in regard to their composition. Headdress has been abolished and the belt introduced. Of European elements both blouse and skirt have been adopted, plus summer and wedding dresses. In one instance I saw in Sulaimani a short European shoulder-less part of the caftan is twisted together and placed like a bundle over the loins. This way of carrying it,

291
evening gown being worn by a Kurdish lady at afternoon tea. It is typical that *European* dress enters 369
the Islamic woman's world whilst the occasion for which it was designed is lacking. 177

The uneducated urban environment. In this milieu also the Islamic elements, face veil and head cloak, 291
are the most important, obligatory outside the area of the home. Under this dress, and in the home, 369
a costume is worn composed on exactly the same lines as that worn in the two village environments. 184
As regards the material it is characterized by the use of both the velvet, silk and brocade of the village aristocracy and the cotton materials of the plain village woman, in the uneducated urban environment mainly worn by the elderly. In this milieu, as in the two villages, the turban and its accessories are customary for the married woman, whilst the unmarried only wears a head veil.

Fig. 64. Ordinary peasant environment. Halabja.
Fig. 65. Uneducated urban environment. Sulaimani.

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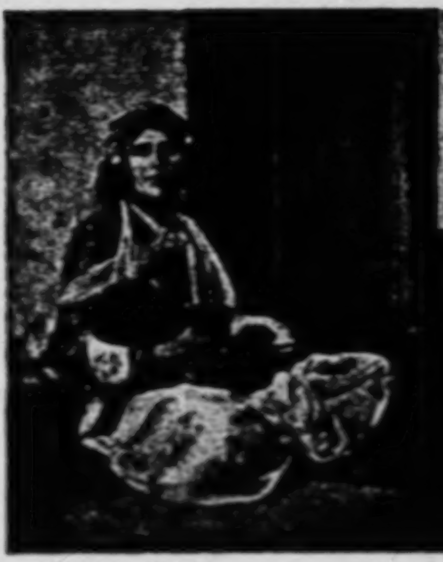

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The "Kurdish elements" of women's dress viewed in a larger context.

Areas	Literature	Examples in the National Museum of Denmark	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Egypt	Lane 1944, 42 ff., 48 ff.		+		+		+	+	+	+	
Arabia	Musil 1928, 122, 125				+		+		+		
	Dickson 1951, 154 ff.	F. 543, 45-47 (Qatar)	+	+	+			+	+	+	
Syria and Palestine	Jouin 1934, 481 ff., 501		+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
	Dalman 1937, figs. 42, 88, 89				+				+	+	
		F. 460a-h (Hama)	+	+	+		+		+		
		F. 453 (Hama)			+						
Iraqi Kurdistan	Cf. Edmonds 1957, 87 ff.	E. 2333-37, E. 2339-48	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Armenia	Bishop 1891, II, 242, 351		+	+			+	+			+
		M. 409a-d	+				+	+			+
Turkey	Pentzer 1936, 168 ff.		+	+		+	+	+	+		
Turkish Kurds		M. 413a-d	+			+	+	+			
		M. 538a-e	+				+	+			
		M. 563a-f	+	+		+	+	+			+
Iran	Chardin 1711, IV, fig. facing p. 158, no. XXIII		+		+			+			
		E. 1450	+		+			+		+	
	Fowler 1841, I, 136, II, Title picture		+		+					+	
Iranian Kurds	Aristova 1958, fig. 1, 3, pag. 226, 233		+		+				+	+	
Bakhtiaris	Bishop 1891, II, 117		+		+						
Lurs	Feilberg 1952, 120 ff., figs. 111, 112, 114	F. 260-31	+		+				+	+	

As appears from the table, where an attempt has been made to compare the main elements of Kurdish female costume with that of a similar nature in surrounding areas, the visible trousers of genuine Kurdish dress correspond to those worn in all adjacent territories. The same applies to the kirtle, with the exception of Turkey and Armenia. The long pointed sleeves characteristic of the Kurdish kirtle is paralleled by the costume worn by Arab bedouins and, particularly, in the Syrian-Palestinian dress, from which these sleeves can be presumed to have been derived. The waistcoat of Kurdish women is probably a loan from Turkish costume. The caftan is as common to female costume in all regions. The Kurdish tribes in Turkish and Armenian areas are influenced by the kirtle-less dress of

[77]

4: Hansen E-5 (1957) 1961 MA11 Kurd MA11

Turkish women and the Armenian costume with apron, respectively. Kurdish female dress is most closely paralleled by the older form of Persian women's costume (cf. E. 1474). According to Bishop (1891, I, 214) the ladies costume in Persia has undergone a great change in the last ninety years, that is since about 1800. The later type of Persian female dress with narrow trousers and "ballet" skirt is a quite different type (cf. E. 2235).

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The Lurs in Iran, visited and described by Feilberg, have the same type of trousers-kirtle-caftan costume, with a turban like the Kurdish, though the trousers are narrower and less visible than those of the Kurdish costume in Iraq (cf. Feilberg 1952, 119, 121, figs. 111, 112, 114).

Elements of woman's dress and their distribution.

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Groups	Elements	Village aristocracy		Peasant women		Educated urban		Uneducated urban	
		unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married
I	Trousers, shift, kirtle, waistcoat, jacket, and caftan	x	x	x	x	(x)	(x)	x	x
II	Cap, neck cloth, shoulder cloth, turban, and brow cloth		x		x		(x)		x
III	Head cloth	x	x	x	x	(x)	(x)	x	x
IV	Sash or belt	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	x	x	(x)	(x)
V	Footwear	(x)	x			x	x	(x)	(x)
VI	Face veil abá	(x)	(x)	(x)	(x)	x	x	x	x
VII	Cotton material			x	x			x	x
VIII	Silk, artificial silk, and brocade	x	x		(x)	x	x		
IX	Dress changes					x	x		
X	European garments					x	x		

x: The element appears constantly everywhere.
(x): The element appears sporadically.
I: Is used in all environments by both unmarried and married. However, it is inconstant in the educated urban milieu.
II: Is the head dress of the married woman in all environments. Not existing in the educated urban milieu.
III: Is supplementary to the headdress of the married woman and constitutes the sole headdress of the unmarried girl. Not constant in the educated urban milieu.
IV: Only constant in the educated urban milieu.
V: Not constant in the village aristocratic milieu or in the uneducated urban milieu. Completely lacking in the humble village milieu.
VI: Street dress in the two urban environments and worn by village women when away from the village.
VII: Used mainly in the common village and uneducated urban environments.
VIII: Silk-brocade is characteristic of the village aristocracy and educated urban environments. Can on occasion be met with among married women in the humble village milieu.
IX-X: Dress changes characteristic of the educated urban milieu such as European, Iraqi.

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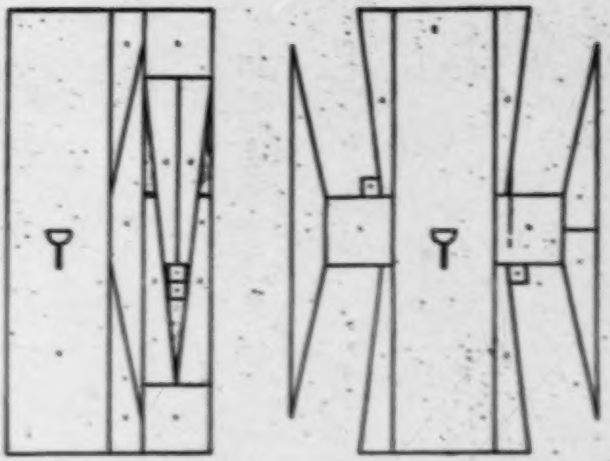

Fig. 46. Demonstration of how a certain length of material is cut out to form the different parts of a woman's kirtle. Scale 1:30.

a: the body; b: the two sleeves; c: the two funnel-shaped cuffs (one of them sewn together from two pieces); d: the four side gores; e: the two rectangular gores in the armpits. (Cf. fig. 33).

90 A *The production of feminine garments.* The materials for all women's dresses are machine-made and
[439] imported[27] from abroad for sale in the sūq of the larger towns. (Samples of brocade, E. 2352a–c). The
padded garments like jackets and caftans are made by bazar tailors with Singer sewing machines that
1111 are found in both town and village[28]. Certain main measurements are taken of the customer, height
[463] and shoulder breadth. This is done with a measuring rod, gāz (E. 2272). This is a round stick, 0.535 m.
long, divided into English inches by circular notches, and consists of two sections, bound together by
[804] a cord, that can be inserted into each other. I did not witness the cutting-out of a caftan or a jacket.

Sleeveless jackets, trousers, under-kirtle and kirtle are made by hand or on a sewing machine by women at home. Except in the case of sleeveless jackets, nothing is wasted when cutting out these garments. All the parts of which the garments consist are limited by straight lines and utilize most ingeniously the available material (see diagram). Material is purchased in definite measurements, well-known to the bazar tailors. When cutting-out the kirtle the person's height is measured with the material. The smaller measurements are marked on the material by taking the distance between
[804] the thumb and little finger several times and the distance from the nose to the finger tips with an outstretched arm (1 yard). Fallberg[29] writes of the Lars measuring by means of the hand, just as Danes at one time used the end joint of the thumb and the length of the foot.

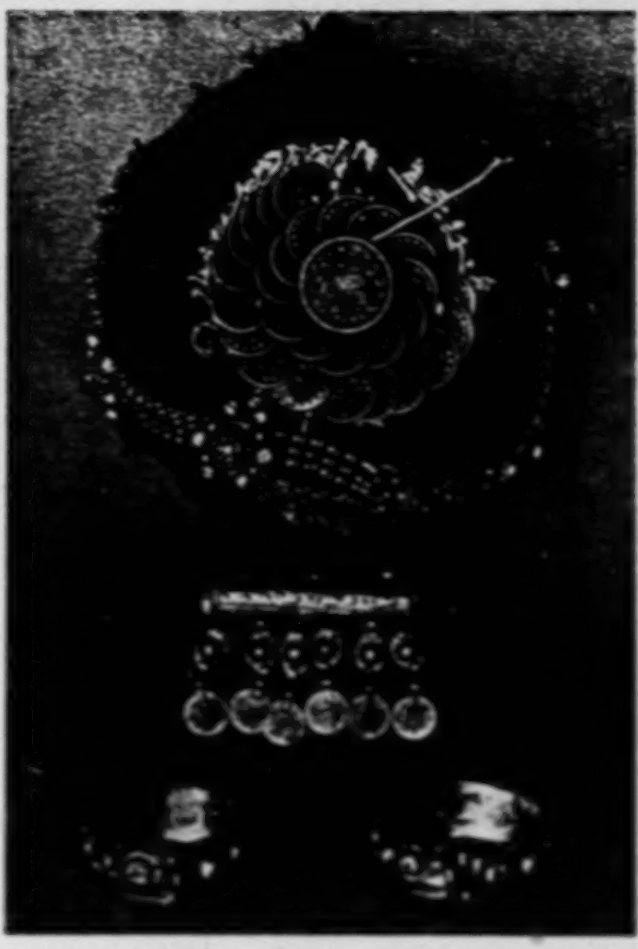

Fig. 67. Jewellery for women: cap with Persian silver coins sewn on (E. 2290). Halabja. Cylindrical amulet box (E. 2292) and bangles (E. 2294-97). Sulaimani.

301| *Jewellery.* Jewellery in various forms belongs to woman's clothing. It is an element in the presentation of a dress, affects its whole character, and, as it were, completes the picture. It is necessary to go back to the Renaissance and Baroque periods to find in Western culture times when jewellery was so closely linked to woman's appearance and so integral a part of the dress as it is in the Kurdish woman's costume of to-day.

291| Certain parts of the dress are simply jewellery, for example the cap chin chain, [illegible] or *[illegible]*, composed of coins or glass beads (E. 2288), which holds it in place on the head, and the coin at the
301| top of the fez to which the neck-shoulder veil is attached. A chain of small ornaments may be sewn on the dress along the edge of the jacket (E. 2293), 0.96 m. long. There existed circular temple ornaments, *gul*, (E. 2294, 2295). Some necklets were composed of stones and other objects whose form and material were supposed to possess protective qualities and to avert the evil eye. Certain amulet boxes were used as ornaments, for example a cylindrical silver amulet box, *[illegible]*, (E. 2292) with attached coins[illegible]. Last but not least the jewellery represents ready money, clusters of coins being sewn on as cover for the fez (E. 2290) or assembled in the form of chains of coins with inlaid gems, attached to
[563] the turban. Jewellery is a part of the bride price, is the woman's private property, and thus an investment publically exhibited in witness of the woman's economic status. She carries it on herself, the safest depository.

301| Other kinds of jewellery include earrings, bangles, necklaces, nose ornaments and belts. Bangles, *bâzin*, (E. 2296–97)[illegible] can be of silver and also of turquoise-coloured glass. Necklaces consisting of various semi-precious stones with pendant amulet packets called *[illegible]* (E. 2290) or *[illegible]* (E. 2291), plus necklaces of 20 fragrant beads of dried cloves, *[illegible]*, (E. 2299), also with small amulet packets, are worn. Woman's belts can be composed of gold coins side by side or a military belt on which are mounted one very large, eight small, and twenty very small silver buckles (E. 2300)[illegible]. This type of belt was, as mentioned (p. 77), worn at Topzawa by new arrivals with a specially long, pinned-up kirtle and a hood. These women wore across the head a triple silver chain mounted with turquoise, *[illegible]*, (E. 2289).

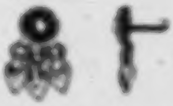

Fig. 48. Nose ornament for women (E. 2303). Worn in a hole in the left nostril. Sulaimani. Scale 1:1.

Nose ornaments in the form of a small gold pin with movable attachment, *[illegible]*, (E. 2303) are worn in the left nostril. Children also wear jewellery. This may be blue buttons or blue glass beads (E. 2307) [illegible] Superstition and Witchcraft, p. [illegible]), but also of more precious metals. Brow ornaments of gold, pinned and stuck into the hair on the front of the head, in the form of a little crescent with three heart-shaped, movable pendants, known as *gul* (E. 2302), the same type being called by the Arabs *[illegible]*[illegible]. Bangles of silver with one or more chains that link them with one or more finger rings, an Indian form of ornament. Finally the child might have obliquely across its chest an ornamental and amulet chain, *[illegible]*, (E. 2301) called after one of the objects, a small reproduction of a beggar's bowl[illegible].

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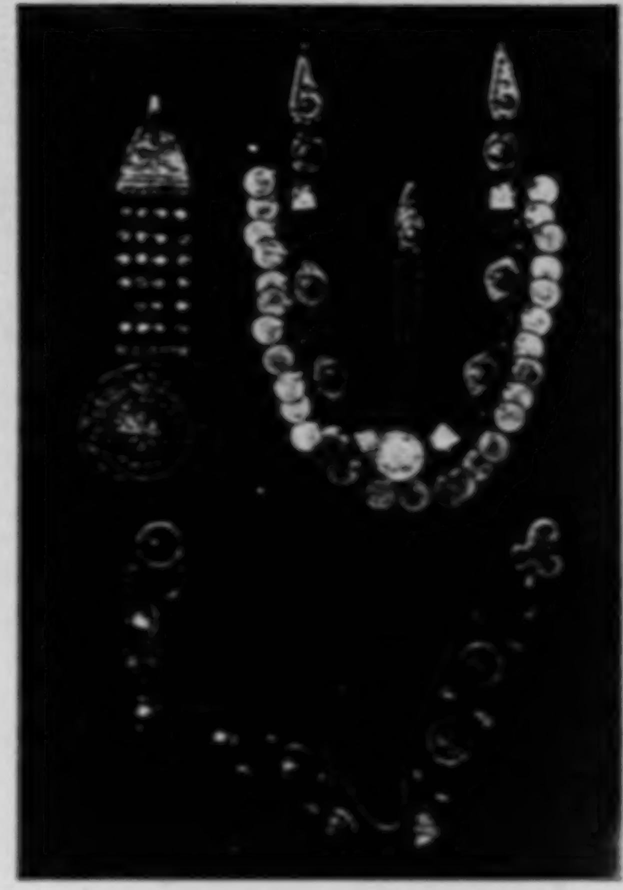


Fig. 48. Jewellery for "Persian" women in Topzawa; triple silver band chain (E. 2295), belt with heavy metal boss (E. 2300). Bought in the city in Sulaimani.

[p.85]

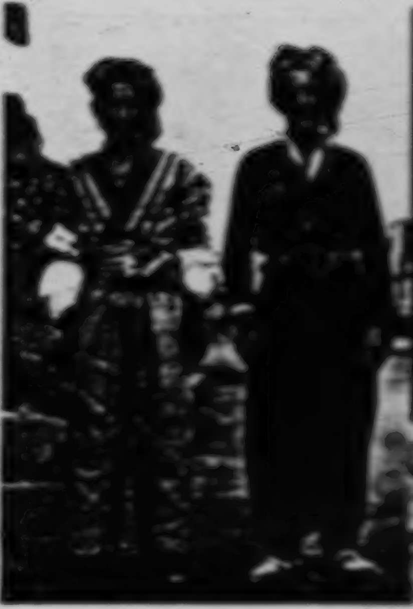
309 *Beauty culture.* Women's hair is cut short at the side of the head in line with the mouth. Older women in the two village environments and in the uneducated urban milieu wear their back hair long, plaited in an unequal[33] number of plaits. The cutting off of the side hair has led, in the case of the younger women of the village aristocracy and all women in the educated urban milieu to cutting it all round the head so that the result resembles the European-American bobbed hair of the '20s. Kurdish women's
[142] hair is curly and looks as if it were permanent-waved, but I never saw any women go to the hairdresser. The women cut each other's hair and that of their girls. Women's hair is black, but ash-blonde or
[386] blonde is not unusual in the case of small girls. Women often dye their hair red with *xena*[34]. The result is a somewhat carroty tint. This is done in the case of young people and children for esthetic reasons. On the other hand the grey hair of age is concealed by the aid of a double dye. The hair is
302 first dyed red with *xena* produced from the dried, pulverized leaves of *Lawsonia alba (hennah)*[35],
386 which is bought in the *sūq* in linen bags ready for use (E. 2256). It is then dyed green with indigo *(Indigofera anil)*. After 24 hours, during which time the head is swathed in a cloth, the hair assumes the desired ink-black, rather heavy, colour[36].

Henna is also used to stain the soles of the feet, the sides of the foot, the toes, and the palm of the hand and finger tips[37]. This staining I only saw resorted to in the two village environments. Within the village aristocracy this form of beauty culture is gradually becoming engaged in a struggle with
[199] European-American nail varnish which, like the henna, can be purchased in the *sūq* and has also found its way to the villages. Nail varnish of whatever tint serves to emphasize the whiteness of the skin. The henna dye hides it. Use of them both results in a most unfortunate meeting between East and West, particularly when the henna dye gradually fades without at any time appearing unsightly, while the nail varnish peels off, as varnish remover is not apparently indulged in, giving a very slovenly effect.

302 Beauty aids also includes eye make-up, *kil*, that is to say powdered antimony (E. 2255), kept in a small brocade bag, *kil-dân*, (E. 2254a). Eye make-up is smeared on with a small wooden stick, about 0.062 m. long, *kil-čew*, (E. 2254b-c), which is pushed over the lashes, the eye being kept closed[38].

American cosmetics could be bought in the *sūq* at Sulaimani, in the big store, Orozdi Bak, and similar shops in Baghdad. A large flat velvet beauty box belongs to the trousseau in urban environments. A bride coming from Sulaimani to a humble village milieu will be very made-up, but this is only practised on special occasions.

304 Tattooing[39], on the other hand, must be considered as belonging to the more permanent forms of beauty treatment, though it was not practised among the Kurdish women I had an opportunity of observing. Tattooing consists of single or groups of spots round the mouth, a stroke across the mouth, spots on the forehead, on the back of the hand, the instep or between the breasts. It was said that tattooing was performed with an ordinary sewing needle dipped in a paste of eye make-up (antimony) or soot mixed with milk[40].



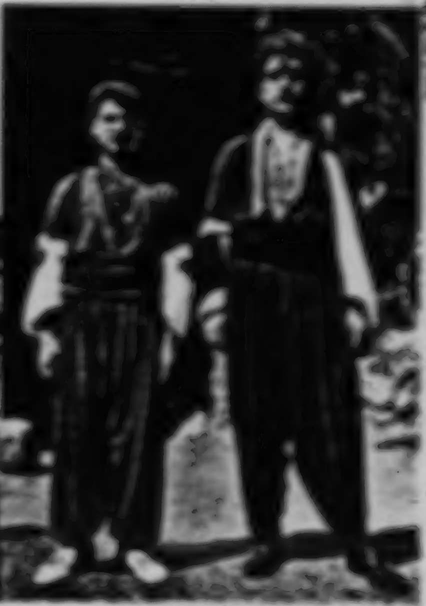
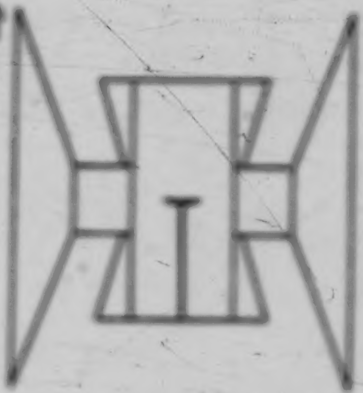


Fig. 70. Left: man's dress of Rowanduz type. Right: man's dress of Sulaimani type.
Fig. 71. Man's dress of Sulaimani type. The funnel-shaped cuffs of the shirt are wound round the arms.

The elements of men's dress. Insofar as I had an opportunity to study it, men's dress in Southern Kurdistan presents a less complicated picture than women's. However, men's dress also contains special Kurdish and foreign elements. The genuine Kurdish male dress is a trouser costume. Two types can be determined, each connected with a geographical area. The one was typical of the Sulaimani region, the other of the district around Rowanduz. 291

Kurdish elements. Shirt, *krās*, (E. 2314) is made of plain, white cotton material. In cut it is a shortened poncho-caftan, 0.86 m. long and a span of 1.96 m. Open in the front, it is fitted with a low collar. The shirt's breadth over the shoulders is 0.67 m. Two sleeves, 0.24 m. long and 0.38 m. wide, are attached to the shirt at acute angle. These sleeves terminate in funnel-shaped cuffs, like those known in Syrian male dress. The cuffs prolong the arm by 0.24 m. and hang down 1.10 m. like long pennants exactly the same as the sleeves of a woman's kirās. Just as with the woman's dress, these funnel-shaped cuffs are drawn out through the garment worn above the shirt, and wound around 291

[illegible]



[illegible]

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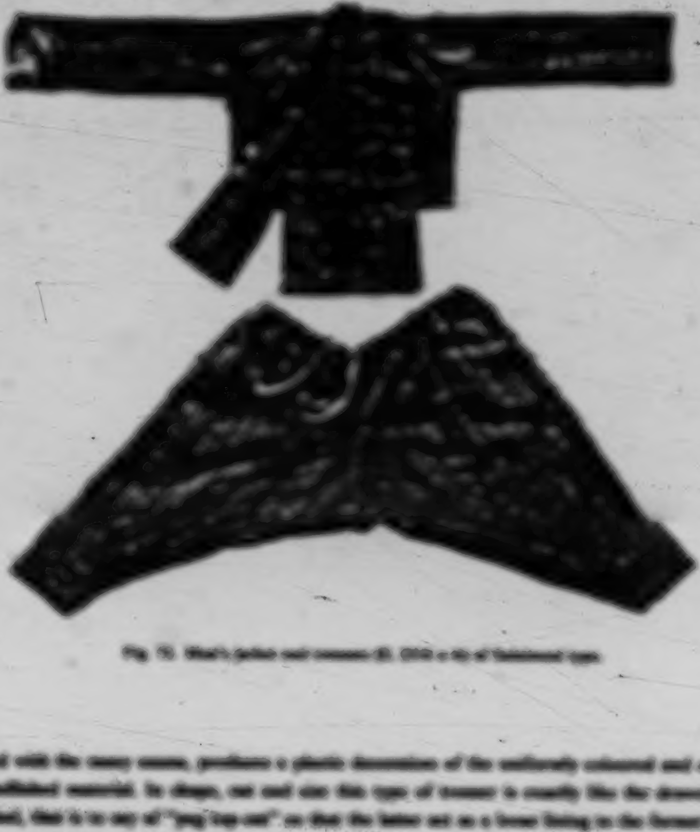

Fig. [illegible]. Man's jacket and trousers (S. [illegible]) of [illegible] type.

coupled with the many seams, produces a plastic decoration of the uniformly coloured and otherwise unembellished material. In shape, cut and size this type of trouser is exactly like the drawers above described, that is to say of "pug top cut" so that the latter act as a loose lining to the former.

Jacket, [illegible], from the [illegible] area (S. [illegible]) composed of [illegible] lengths of material sewn together, each of which has two sharp longitudinal creases. In cut the jacket is a shortened pseudo-caftan(?) with sleeves cut in prolongation of the body. Like the shirt the jacket is fitted with a low collar. Its length is [illegible] m., its span [illegible] m. The sleeves are [illegible] m. wide, slit from the bottom and there lined with maroon silk, whilst the rest of the garment is unlined. In cool weather the man might wear a waistcoat, [illegible], under the jacket and above the shirt, or a padded vest, [illegible], closed in front by buttons. However, I had no opportunity to inspect these garments closely.

Trousers, [illegible], from the [illegible] district (S. [illegible]). The material is yellowish-brown hemp cloth, a mixture of wool and hemp, woven [illegible] m. broad and napped after weaving. The material [illegible] E-5 ([illegible]) [illegible] [illegible]

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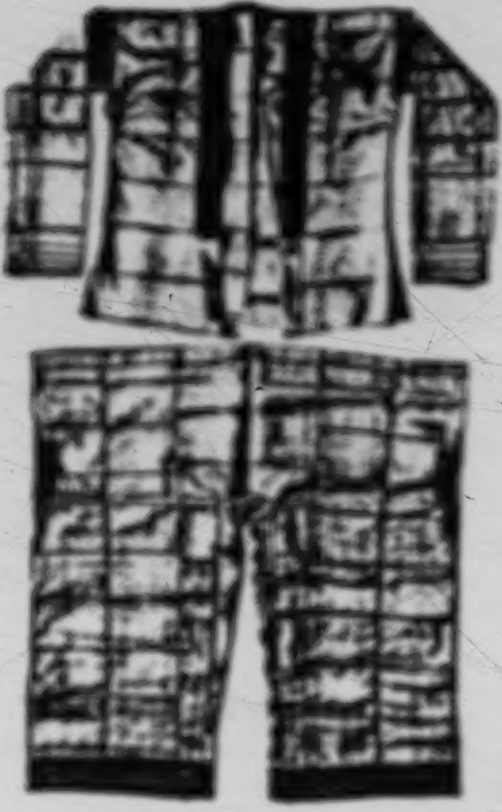

Fig. [illegible] Man's jacket and trousers [illegible] is thus smooth, devoid of longitudinal seams, but after the garment is made it is decorated with green machined embroidery. The cut is the same as that of the trousers previously described, but the rhomb-shaped gusset is cut quite narrow (see diagram), so that the result is that the trouser legs are far wider. Superficially they are reminiscent of European women's trousers[illegible], diametrically opposed to the other, "peg-top cut", type. On closer examination, however, it is found that the cut of the two types is identical. The narrow gusset gives a width of [illegible] m. to the bottom of the legs, as opposed to a width of [illegible] m. for the other type. The length, [illegible] m. is the same for both types and the same applies to the width at the top, which is [illegible] m. 291

Jacket, [illegible], from the Rowanduz area (E. [illegible]). Of the same shape and cut as those of the Sulaimani area but, like the trousers belonging to it, made of broader-woven, smooth homespun material so that the jacket of this type is only sewn out of [illegible] lengths of material. It has no collar. Like the trousers it is embellished with green, machined embroidery along the edges. The length of the jacket is [illegible] m., span [illegible] m.

In both types of men's dress the jacket is worn stuck down into the trousers and the gathered casing at the top concealed by a long, thick and broad sash wound several times around the waist.

Sash, [illegible], is about [illegible] m. long, shaped like a cylinder in which a lining is inserted. This lining, which acts as a stiffener, is made of rags sewn together. On the outer side the sash can be flowered artificial silk (E. [illegible], length [illegible] m.), of maroon velvet (E. [illegible], length [illegible] m.), or of heavily-flowered cotton material. They are sold by [illegible] in the city, for example in Sulaimani.

Footwear during the summer I was in Southern Kurdistan was European leather shoes from the [illegible] [292] (E. [illegible]). The elements most connected with dress, shoes, are removed during prayers, on entering a mosque, and before treading on the rugs of the house. Cloth shoes are unsuitable for moving about in the mountains; there is no difference between right and left foot. A thick sole is formed by strips of cloth being folded together rectangularly[illegible], [illegible] m. long and [illegible] m. broad (E. [illegible]) and fastened flat with a cone-shaped [293]

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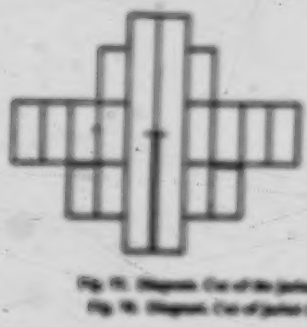

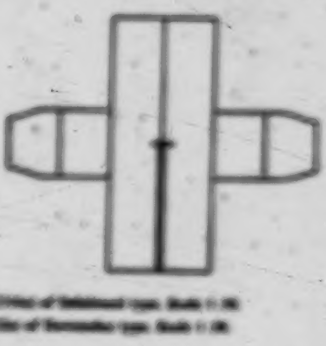

[294]

Fig. [illegible]. Diagram. Cut of the jacket (E. [illegible]) of Sulaimani type. Scale 1:[illegible]

Fig. [illegible]. Diagram. Cut of jacket (E. [illegible]) of Rowanduz type. Scale 1:[illegible]

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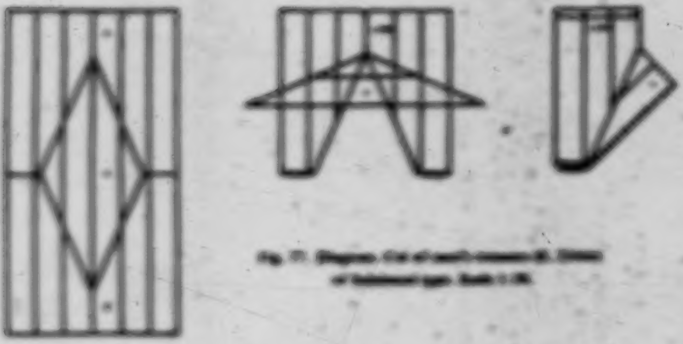
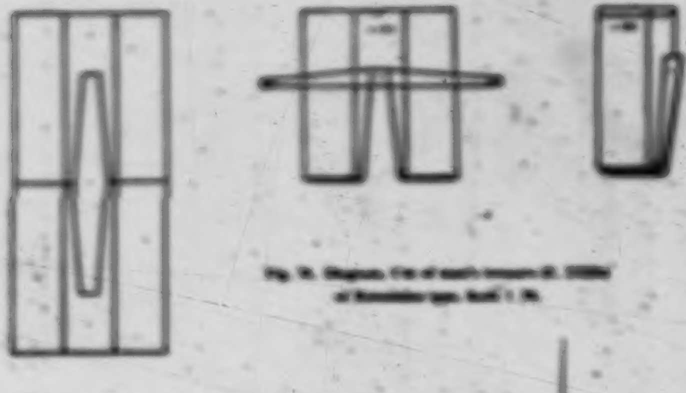


Fig. [illegible]. Diagram. [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] type. Scale 1 : [illegible].



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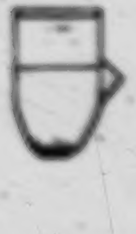

Fig. [illegible]. Diagram. [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. Scale 1 : [illegible] [illegible] fig. [illegible].

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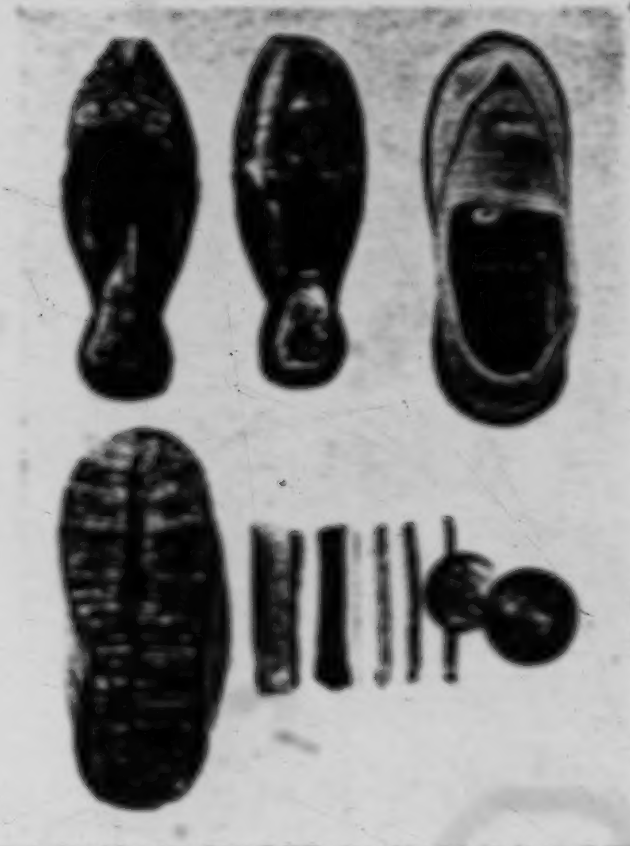

[913]

Fig. 60. Footwear; above, left: woman slippers (E. [illegible]); above, right: cloth shoe for men (E. [illegible]); below, left: the sole of the shoe is made from strips of cloth; below, right: metal hammer (E. [illegible]) for beating the strips; beside and under the hammer strips unfolded and folded (E. [illegible]).

29 upper leathers, 0.175 m. long, made, (E. 2270)[illegible], tinned on the outside and ending at the top wi a knob. The strips are then placed side by side and a leather strap is drawn through them making a sole which is given a crocheted upper of white cotton yarn. A piece of leather inserted into each end of the sole protects it against wear. These cloth shoes is made in the city, one man producing the sole, another the upper. In the area I visited the street and summer cloth shoes were made by the craftsmen in the city at Tawella (cf. fig. 79).

Men's headdress, like women's, is a cap with a turban cloth wound round it.

The cap, *k'lāw*[illegible], could be of crocheted cotton yarn (E. 2225), of black and white afloss yarn (E. [illegible] sewn with a pointed crown and side pieces of maroon cotton material (E. 2224), or have a flat crown and be decorated with coloured silk and gold embroidery (E. 2226) to mention a few examples. The cap or skull-cap, which is not a fez like the women wear, can be worn alone. However, to be properly dressed the cap should always be combined with a rectangular head cloth, fringed at the edges[illegible], folded diagonally. This is twisted into a coil the thickness of an arm and from the man's neck wound around the head from right to left, the one end hanging down. The other end is pushed into the convolutions. The turban, the fringes of which hang down over forehead and neck, could be arranged in more or less pillow form.

Turban cloth, *mālō* (?) or *lapka*[illegible], may be of cotton or silk. An example can be mentioned a cloth (E. 2219) of black and light-grey silk, 1.20 m. × 1.40 m. with fringes 0.07 m. long knotted into tassels on the two long sides. A cloth (E. 2221) of maroon and grey silk, 1.20 m. × 1.06 m. with fringes 0.07 m. long hanging loose on the two long sides. Turban cloths, known as *jamana* (E. 2227) of European black and white chequered cotton material, 1.20 m × 1.20 m. with fringe on all four sides—the same cloth that Arabs wear folded diagonally.

In addition to the male dress here reviewed a felt waistcoat, known as *fārāgī* (E. 2228) is worn by shepherds, amongst others. This is perhaps the "jacket" mentioned by Edmonds—"a felted waist-coat worn over the jacket"[illegible]. This felted waistcoat is seamless[illegible]. It is not cut and sewn together with seams, but so to say modelled. Its length is 0.55 m. When worn the arms protrude through holes at the arm pits, whilst the rudiments of short arms stick out like flat flashes resting on the man's shoulders.

29
190 *Foreign elements of men's dress.* The woollen cloak *'abaa*, *abā*, a characteristic feature of Arab male dress, is not worn by the men (though made of black silk, it is the street dress worn by Kurdish women). Amongst the Kurds I only saw the Arab *'abaa*, *'abāa*, worn by a single mulla and a couple of old sheikhs in [illegible] and [illegible]. It therefore cannot be said to be a regular element of men's dress in Southern Kurdistan.

Diametrically opposed to the Arab *'abaa* costume that hides the legs and the trousers, *[illegible]*, worn underneath, provided a loin cloth only is not worn, Kurdish men's dress, like that of the Turks, is definitely a trouser habit. This has given rise to the Kurd's nickname for the Arabs: "The trouser-less"[illegible].

On the other hand the long Arab kittle sewn in striped materials is included as an element of Kurdish male dress, but only as a home and sleeping garment worn above the ample Kurdish trousers. It is only worn amongst town dwellers.

Whereas Arab elements thus only appear sporadically in Kurdish male dress, certain European elements have been adopted. The first item of genuine Kurdish male dress to be exchanged was footwear. This was replaced by European leather shoes. In replacement of the Kurdish jacket a European jacket with collar, lapels and pocket was seen worn with the Kurdish trousers of the Sulaimani area type. But despite its form, intended to be worn outside the trousers, it was tucked down into these inside the casing and tied round with the long waist sash. Sometimes the original native jacket could be seen influenced by the European jacket to the extent that a breast pocket had been added. 891 199

In many cases a European suit had replaced the Kurdish rank-u-čōgh in Sulaimani. With this a European shirt, tie and socks were worn. On the other hand, even under a European suit the baggy Kurdish drawers were retained. This is due to the custom of removing one's outer garments at home. In fact an informal visit to a café could be paid in one's underclothes[illegible]. Naturally the wide and ample Kurdish drawers were more suitable for this purpose than their European counterpart.

Another European element adopted by more advanced young Kurds is pyjamas (cf. p. 33). As in this cultural pattern one sleeps in the same clothing as that worn by day, pyjamas became a garment that could be worn all round the clock. My interpreter's 20 year old brother rose from his pallet in pyjamas, took his seat in the hired car that was to convey us over the desert to Baghdad, and eight hours later entered an Arab hotel in the main street of that town in the same crumpled attire. 513 891 199

In Kurdish male dress pyjamas certainly appeared to be something of an urban phenomenon. In the villages I only saw pyjamas worn by the sheikh's young son at Topzawa. The uncle, the 35 year old Mama Khala, told me that this Western habit was only about 15 years old, and that personally he was no admirer of it as it was so unsuited to the tailor's position whether on the floor or on one of the large, chintzy sofas. The son, Sardar, who favoured pyjamas, on one single occasion also wore a European suit. Apart from that occasion this dress was not worn in the village.

Men wore no headdress with European clothes. Nor did I see any man wearing European dress taking part in the daily prayers ordained by Islam[illegible]. However, when men dressed in Kurdish fashion were to pray, they twisted the turban cloth around the skull cap if it had been removed, and slipped off their shoes. I did not see them loosen the cuffs of their shirts as women loosen their sleeves prior to the prostrations of prayer[illegible]. The somewhat toe-pointed, black-white or brown-white European shoes, calculated to appeal to the Oriental sense of luxury, constituted—on account of the laces that had to be loosened and tied—a breach of certain traditional habits in the cultural pattern. 891 199

Whereas women's clogs, slippers, or low cut European shoes were easy to step out of before walking on the rugs or felt mats in the home, and always lay around in a singularly unowned way outside the carpeted area—incidentally being used by all the women of the house in turn, regardless of ownership—men's European shoes were personal property necessitating bending down and loosening laces every time they were to be taken off, and tying when put on. These European shoes thus conflicted with the admirable custom that footwear should never come into contact with rugs and mats. In the same way this kind of footwear made it difficult easily to adopt the tailor's posture on the floor or to draw the legs up under one when sitting in chairs or sofa. These shoes therefore constitute a step towards a readjustment of the pattern of movement and sitting habits[illegible].

Authentic Kurdish male dress[illegible], in type akin to the Turkish[illegible], followed the example set by the 891

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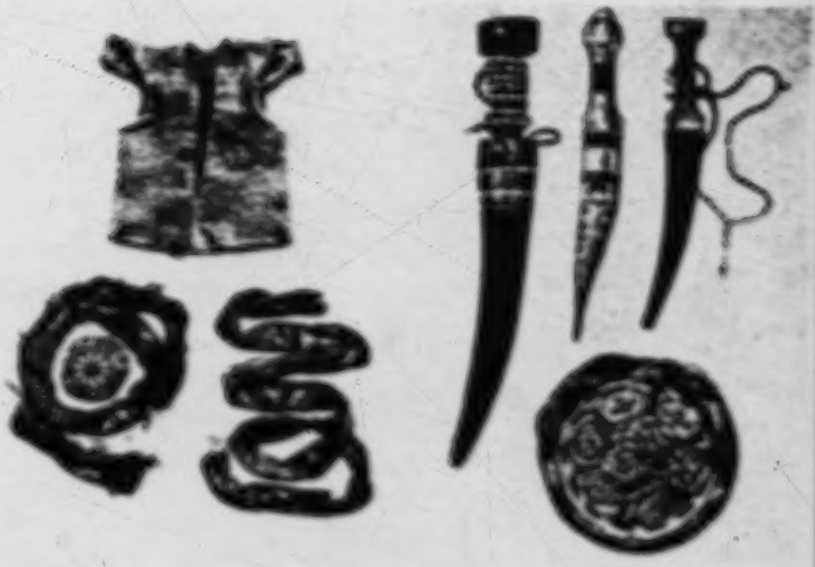

Fig. 61. [illegible] waistcoat (E. [illegible]), cap (E. [illegible]) surrounded by turban cloth (E. [illegible]), and scarf (E. [illegible]).
Fig. 62. Knives and rosaries. From left to right: E. [illegible] with E. [illegible], E. [illegible], E. [illegible] with E. [illegible]. Below: cap embroidered with gold and silk (E. [illegible]).

291 later in adopting the trouser costume, by discarding the long caftan in favour of short waistcoat and jacket, and now had pockets in the side seams of the trousers. Further storage facilities were afforded by the long pointed ends of the shirt arms that could be tied round an object, the waist sash in which a cloth bundle could be stuffed or, possibly, the upper end of a bag.

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293 Accessories to the costume, corresponding to the ornaments of women, were pocket knife with horn handle (E. [illegible]) and the curved dagger, [illegible], with sheath, 0.30 m.-0.40 m. long, the value of which varied according to the execution and the material of the handle and sheath (E. [illegible], 0.402 m. long, sheath covered with metal from an English tin, a thimble acting as tip; E. [illegible], 0.258 m. long with leather sheath and handle of goat's horn; E. [illegible], 0.345 m. long with silver sheath and handle studded with turquoise). The prayer chain or rosary, [illegible], composed of 99 beads was wound round the handle of the dagger. These beads could be of horn or other material, every 33rd. being marked (E. [illegible] of horn; E. [illegible] of fruit pips). As a rule the prayer chain is carried between the fingers even

by young men wearing European clothes. Only by reason of the rosary swinging between the fingers was it possible to distinguish between them and Europeans. 093

The men wear their hair cut short and are as a rule beardless, though not well-shaved. [302]

Children's dress. A baby's clothes in the villages consisted of a small kirtle with extra long, pointed arms, a padded jacket, [illegible], of flowered cotton material (E. 2320) or silk, and a cowl-shaped silk bonnet. On a cool day the mother of a 2-3 year old boy sewed a pair of sack-like trousers, but it was an exception for such small boys to wear such a garment. In the towns I saw a boy of about 6 months wearing a dress with a short yoke, a gown, a jacket and a long coat, all of flowered flannel, possibly copied from a European pattern (E. 2356a, c, d, e). The same infant I saw at a wedding clad (although scarcely [illegible]) in a dress of rose and light-blue nylon (E. 2330b). 091

As regards the larger children, both boys and girls in villages and towns wear short-armed, striped, 091 561

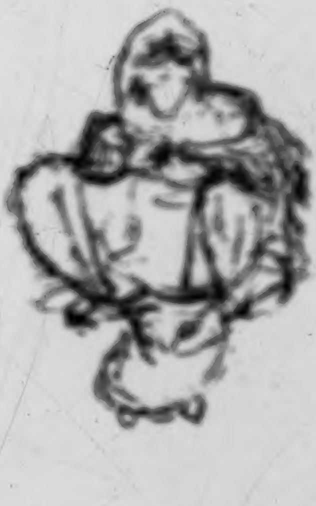
Fig. [illegible]. Children's dress in the village [illegible].

long shirts, without visible trousers up to the age of 8, whereafter they are given small men's costumes of home-woven goat's wool material, and conform generally to the men's clothing scheme (cf. figs. 10, 28, 40).

The somewhat larger girls wear long frocks with a high yoke of the type known from Afghanistan – velvet, dark-flowered cotton material, or silk. At the age of ten the little girl is clothed in adult woman's dress consisting of long, gathered trousers, kirtle and waistcoat. European children's dress could be seen in an urban milieu.

302 In the villages a boy's hair is shaved at the neck and right over the crown, the hair on the front of the head being cut quite short. This may be done to avert evil?.

Girls wear their hair long and plait it into several plaits held together by a horizontal string running across the back of the neck.



CHAPTER IV

LIFE CYCLE

BIRTH

Bringing children into the world is the justification and idea of the [illegible] marriage—also the Kurdish. 844 581 D15

The following particulars concerning birth were given me by the sheikh's wife at [illegible].

Parturition takes place in a sitting position. One of the ordinary copper cooking pots, a soft pot, is placed on the floor [illegible]. Over this is laid a thin, padded mattress on which the woman in labour seats herself. An assistant places herself behind, holds her under the arms, and supports her back. Another squats down in front so that the woman about to give birth can grasp her round the neck. This woman in front acts as the midwife. She may be an ordinary, experienced woman from the village. However, in [illegible] there was a midwife who had undergone a three months course in Baghdad, and the woman who had assisted the two wives in my interpreter's house at the 27 births that had taken place there, was stated to be a fully-trained midwife, then the first to be trained in Sulaimani. At the time I was there this woman was about 40 years of age. [859]

Births take place in one of the rooms of the house. I was told that the father can be present. The umbilical cord is cut by knife or scissors. The Arab doctor at the Dokan Dam Site told me that in case of a sudden birth out in the mountains, the umbilical cord would be severed by a sharp stone, another stone being used as base.

In the villages I visited there was no doctor. Even a complicated birth was left to the local authorities in the form of an experienced neighbour or a midwife with a three month certificate. A female German gynaecologist at the hospital at Sulaimani told of a case where the birth came to a stop in one of the villages. The fetus was dead, and the woman had lain for 24 hours with all her natural functions at a standstill, while the village women debated whether or not the dangerously ill woman should be transported by mule over the mountains to Sulaimani in such critical situation. Finally it was decided to send her to the town where her life was saved thanks to the efforts of the gynaecologist. 845

In another case a woman in [illegible] contracted milk fever after giving birth. She was taken on horseback and then by bus to the hospital at Sulaimani. The child, which was a few days old, could not be taken and died during the woman's absence.

The new-born child, [illegible], is wrapped in a piece of cotton material that acts as a nappy and is changed three times a day. It is then laid on a large piece of material folded into a triangle that reaches to its shoulders and is somewhat larger than the legs. The cloth is about 1.00 m. x 1.00 m. The child's legs are straightened out and the lower points of the cloth are bent up around the feet. The two upper 846 854

§46 §54 points of the triangle opposite the shoulders are crossed over the chest and the arms outstretched along the side of the body. The points are led round the child's back, cross, and return to the front where they are tied in a knot around the child's legs. The head is bound with two pieces of triangular material laid together. The one piece acts as a head-cloth, the other, outside, as a forehead bandage. Similar clothing for a new-born infant is also reported by Granqvist[illegible] in the case of Arabs in Palestine.

The child thus swaddled is placed on a circular, inverted grain sieve that is covered by a thin mattress. This constitutes the child's bed for the first seven days. This use of a grain sieve by the Kurds in Southern Kurdistan is referred to by Nikitine[illegible], who says, however, that the child stays on the sieve 6 and 7 days, as it is especially at night that there is a danger that the evil spirits will kill the mother and child. He also states that during these days neither the midwife nor the other women who have assisted must leave the house or remove the objects they have brought with them in connection with the birth[illegible]. A sieve as the child's first bed also in Iran is mentioned by Donaldson, who says that it acts as a protection against a witch, who is blamed for the many deaths of infants just after birth[illegible]. Lane refers to the use of the sieve in Egypt, reporting that the child is well shaken in it, which is said to be good for its stomach[illegible]. Lane, whose information dates from the middle of the previous century, is supported by Blackman, who writes that the sieve used in Egypt is the large one employed when grain from the threshing floor is thrown against the wind to separate the chaff, and he states that on the seventh night, that is to say the night before the seventh day of life, the child is shaken in the sieve on which a few grains of corn have also been laid. The grain is thereafter removed[illegible].

Lying-in can be confined to a single day or last as long as [illegible] days.

After the first week the sieve is replaced by a cradle, which in Kurdistan I found existed in three different types: transportable, hammock, and stationary.

§54 The first, transportable kind, [illegible], (E. [illegible]) consists of a flat wooden bottom, [illegible] m. × [illegible] m., mounted between four legs, vertical wooden sticks, which above join, two by two, flat transverse wooden arches, and below join in pairs of transverse rockers. Above, the two wooden arches are connected with a heavy pole that runs along the cradle. With this pole the cradle can be carried. The wooden bottom has a low edge that serves to retain a mattress stuffed with cotton, [illegible], (E. [illegible]) [illegible] m. × [illegible] m. × [illegible] m. In both the wooden base and the mattress there is a hole near the centre, or there may be two holes, enabling the mattress to be turned and the head of the cradle to be arranged at either end at will. A pipe-shaped wooden object, [illegible], [illegible] m. long (E. [illegible] and E. [illegible]) is put vertically down through the hole in the mattress and the base of the cradle. If for a male child there is a circular opening at the head of the pipe, if for a female an oval one. This urinating tube is carefully wound round with rags (E. [illegible]) in order that it shall not be uncomfortable when pressed up between the baby's legs. The child lies outstretched on its back with a cylindrical pillow, [illegible], (E. [illegible]) [illegible] m. × [illegible] m. × [illegible] m. under the neck, and its arms extended along the body. In this position it is bound fast. This is done with two padded bandages, [illegible], (E. [illegible]) [illegible] m. broad and [illegible] m. long. At the one end of these bandages there are straps through which is pulled a heavy woollen cord (E. [illegible]) that is stretched out along the one side of the cradle underneath from leg to leg. A woollen cord [illegible] m. in length ending in big woollen tassels (E. [illegible]) is sewn on one end of each bandage. One bandage is passed over the child's pelvis and chest, the other across the

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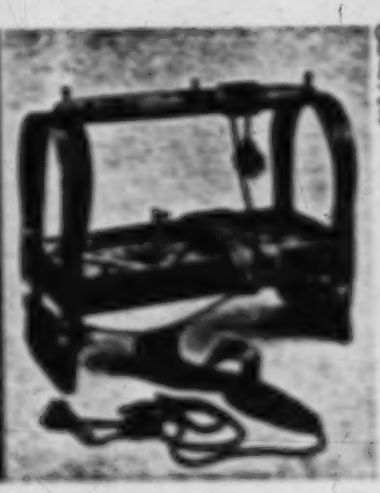

Fig. 64. Transportable cradle, [illegible], arranged for the child. Behind the cradle the child placed on a [illegible]. Sulaimani.

Fig. 65. Transportable cradle (E. [illegible]) with bandages (E. [illegible]) and cords (E. [illegible]). The urine discharge pipe (E. [illegible]) placed upright in the bath in the bottom.

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abdomen and legs, holding the urine discharge pipe in position. The woollen cords that prolong the bandages are passed under the cradle and then twisted round the heavy longitudinal carrying pole, the tassels hanging as decoration and perhaps for amusement of the tied-up baby. The application of the abdominal bandage turns the child's legs outwards, and I discovered that this out-turned position of the feet persisted until the age of three[illegible]. A small rag is placed under the baby to absorb any excrement, urine being taken by the pipe. I was told that a bottle or such like could be hung under the cradle[illegible], and that an arrangement of this kind was used during the winter in rooms covered with rugs, but I never saw this used in the summer on the roof, in the courtyard or in rooms without carpets, where all liquids running on to the ground or the floor evaporated immediately. Above the bandages a small quilt, [illegible], could be laid. The cradle possesses a curtain. For a newly-born child this was of black material, suspended from the transverse carrying pole, so that the child lay as though in a tiny tent. For a slightly larger child a turquoise or purple voile curtain was hung up. This surrounded the whole cradle like a bag with an opening on the one side. The curtain, perde, (E. [illegible]) is formed of a piece of cloth 1.80 m. long and 0.84 m. broad. It is folded together into a bag of the same height and length as the cradle, and sewn together with a seam along the upper edge, with an opening on one side. If the night air on the roof was cool a woollen blanket was laid over the curtain to shield the child from draughts. To enable the child to sleep peacefully it could be blindfolded with a white cotton rag.

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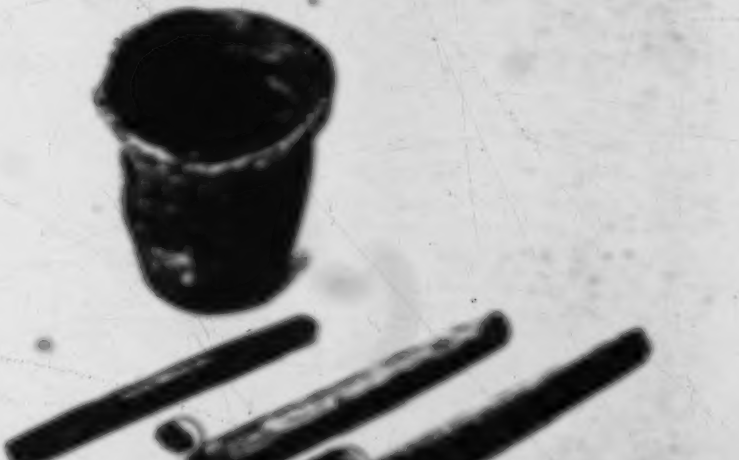
In order to nurse the baby, the mother squats down, by the cradle end, with one arm on the carrying pole, pushes the curtain aside.

Supplementary to the cradle type whose urine tube makes the use of nappies, and all the washing that goes with them, unnecessary, there was a night-commode in the form of a small arm chair in which even an infant can be placed in a semi-lying position, in order to have its bowels moved. The night-commode has a hole in the seat around which there is a ring of padded cloth with a flounce. A container is placed under the seat. This seat has a cushion for the back so that the child more lies than sits, comfortable and secure.

Instead of two smaller holes in the bottom that allow the end of the bed to be turned, the cradle may have one larger hole, corresponding to a bigger hole in the mattress, a little below the centre of the wooden bottom. In this a clay vessel (E. 2313a), 0.12 m. high, diam. about 0.10 m., similar in shape to a flower pot, is lowered. The urine tube, ibid. (E. 2313b) 0.17 m. long, is of bamboo, with a longish opening in the side near the one end, thus intended for a girl, is placed in the clay vessel. I

Fig. 66. Clay vessel (E. 2313a) with urine pipe of bamboo (E. 2313b) for a girl. Below: Wooden pipes, for boy (E. 2310) and for girl (E. [illegible]). Sulaimani.



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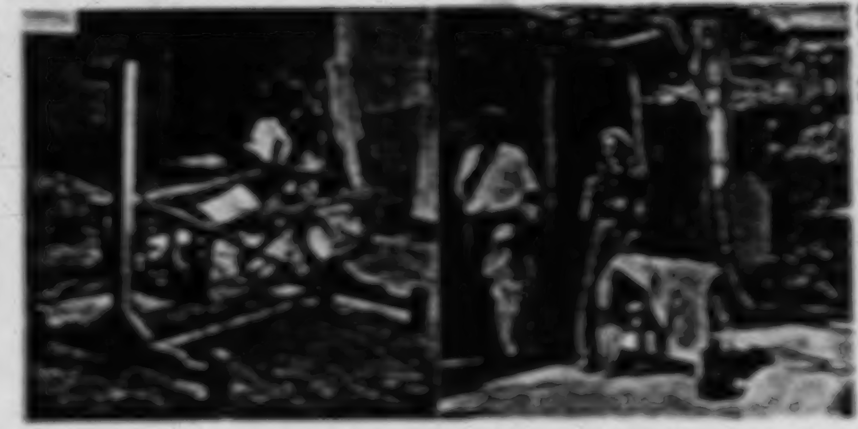

Fig. 47. The stationary cradle: a box-shaped bed suspended from a frame. Sulaimani.
Fig. 48. The transportable cradle. A curtain is hung over the transverse beam. [illegible]

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saw a cradle of this type in use at Halabja, near the Iranian border. On top of the wood, under the mattress, was a padded ring. The same type of cradle was brought back from Afghanistan by the Third Danish Central Asian Expedition (E. 1948). This is used by the Uigurs, Pinghwa. A quite similar cradle from the Tartars of the Crimea is described and illustrated. This is fitted with a clay vessel and urine tube. The child is fastened to the cradle by two bandages.

The two other patterns of cradles in Kurdistan are intended for somewhat larger children. The one is a temporary affair, the other stationary. The temporary cradle consists of a sack suspended from its four corners like a hammock, with a transverse stick inserted at each end to hold it distended. A rug is laid underneath the child which is taken up as soon as it wakes.

The stationary cradle is a hammock converted into an article of furniture. It consists of a flat, rectangular, box-shaped bed hanging from a heavy wooden frame. In the villages the box, which swings from side to side, contained straw, sacks or rags, in Sulaimani a mattress. This type of cradle is used at night for rather larger and sleeper children and for short periods during the day for infants. When the child has become too big for this pattern of cradle it is transferred to a mattress bed on the floor, just like an adult. A similar box-shaped bed (E. 773) has been brought back from Pashto-speaking immigrants into former Kafir-districts in Afghanistan; it consists of a [illegible] frame, 0.80 m. × 0.50 m. × 0.30 m. with base and sides of wickerwork and a [illegible] rope for suspension.

Analysis of the three types of Kurdish cradle. The transportable cradle in its Kurdish form is also found with the Ossetes and Georgians in the Caucasus. [illegible] illustrates them both from the Caucasus and from Lebanon; they are also found in Armenia and in Turkey. [illegible] mentions

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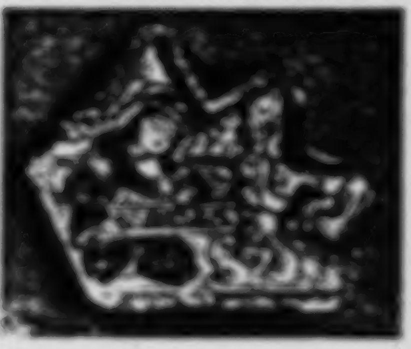

Fig. [illegible]. Fragment of star-shaped tile painted in polychrome "Minai-ware". Found in Rayy. Early 13. century. (Ralph Pinder-Wilson, Islamic Art, London 1957 fig. [illegible]). Mother nursing child in a cradle like the Kurdish [illegible].

that they can be taken on horseback, a thing I also saw done by some passing nomads in Kurdistan. It is depicted by Bishop as an Iranian-Bactrian cradle, and Ploss mentions its use in Iran. Toy cradles made of clay and wood show that this type is also to be found with the Tajiks and Uzbeks. It is met with in Bokhara, and the Third Danish Central Asian Expedition brought one back from Afghanistan (E. 1960). They are also in use with the Uigurs, Ferghana and the Kirghiz.

Urine tubes of the Kurdish type have been brought back from Turkestan (Q. 72-73). The same type of tube is depicted by Le Coq. Urine tubes (E. 2061-62) were brought back with the cradle from Afghanistan (E. 1960). Such "tubes à urine en bois et en os" are illustrated from Georgia by Pokrovskii, are mentioned from Armenia by Vardanov and from the Crimea by Lorenz. The Kirghiz use them and make them out of the bones of sheep.

Ploss mentions Russian Armenia as the area in which this cradle type originated, though this can hardly be correct. It is more probable that its origin must be sought among peoples in Central Asia for whom its portability must have been a most important feature. In my opinion, the rockers are secondary, as with the Kirghiz that feature is lacking in this kind of cradle, and the heavy carrying pole, by which the cradle can be lifted, is primary. It is thus a form of portable cradle allied to the cradle trough characteristic of reindeer nomadism, extending from the Lapps in the west to the Indians of the North Pacific coast in the east, where it meets another pattern of carrying-cradle, the cradle board, that is linked with the moccasin culture widespread among Amerindians from the Algonkians in the north to the Araucanians in the south, with an offshoot to the Ainus & the northern islands of Japan.

Beside the cradle boards, basket-shaped cradles of the "spring type" [illegible] are found in northern California.

In north and central Asia there are also portable cradles with devices related to the urine tubes in the Kurdish [illegible]. Concerning the Ostyak Pokrovskii says that in the oval, box-shaped, portable cradle made of pliable wooden or bark sheets, a box filled with sawdust is placed. If the child is a male, his penis is covered by a piece of bark designed to direct the flow of urine to the foot of the cradle, where it is quickly absorbed by the sawdust. Similar pieces of bark form part of the

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equipment of a portable cradle brought back by Henning Haslund-Christensen from the Solon people in Manchuria[illegible]. With the Kalmuck a box-shaped cradle is used with a horizontal outlet tube "tsorgo"[illegible] placed in the base. With the Yakut a cradle board on rockers, to which the child is fastened and which at the end is fitted with a tube intended to carry off the urine[illegible], a form of cradle the principle of which is clearly the same as that of the Kurdish [illegible][illegible].

Parallels to the second type, the hammock cradle, consisting of a sack suspended from its four corners, seen in use in Bétûbe and Halabja, are found in Iran, made of leather with inserted poles[illegible]. It is also in use in Armenia. It is stated to be formed of a piece of material or garment hung temporarily in a field; this hammock type cradle is said to be more comfortable than the Armenian parallel to the Kurdish [illegible], and is preferred when the child is ill[illegible]. In the Caucasus it is wrapped round with broad bands, so that the child is held fast[illegible], not lying free as in the Kurdish model. The Arab tribes in Syria have hammocks with transverse sticks inserted at both ends[illegible]. The Rwala bedouins in Arabia use as a hammock a shawl hung up in the tent[illegible]. In Yemen there are hammocks of precisely the same form as the Syrian for use in tents, whilst the leather portable cradle, also in use there, has a semi-circular piece of stiff leather inserted to keep the head of the cradle distended, and a carrying strap that draws the cradle together around the feet of the child[illegible]. Finally there is something between a hammock and a portable cradle in use among the Tuareg west of the Niger. This type is produced like a vaulted wooden base with two slender pieces of wood inserted at each end of the cradle in which the child lies fastened[illegible]. It is hung up in the tent.

Whereas in Kurdistan I only saw a rag placed under the child in a hammock, it is said that Arab nomads in Syria use dried, crumbled camel dung to absorb urine and excrement[illegible]. With the Rwala bedouins the child is smeared or plastered with dry camel dung before being hung up in the tent in a shawl[illegible].

The third type of Kurdish cradle, the stationary, hanging cradle on a stand, is used in Iran[illegible]. An Indian cradle in the National Museum (D. 4170) consisting of a stand in which hung a frame, con-

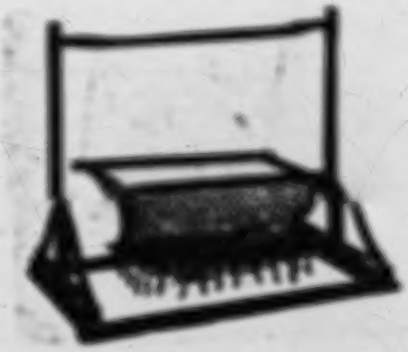

Fig. 86. Indian cradle (D. 4170) in the National Museum of Denmark evinces the same principles as the Kurdish stationary cradle, a box-shaped bed suspended from a wooden frame.

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triangular in form with a flat wooden base and inclined sides, so that a crate cradle, evinces the same principle as the Kurdish hanging cradle. In its simplest and most primitive form the stationary hanging cradle was brought back from the Lurs. It possesses features of both the transportable *bishka* and the stationary frame cradle. The Luristan cradle (E. 289) consists of a "rocking board" composed of two parallel pieces of bamboo to which the child must have been fastened in order to remain lying and particularly to retain the urine tube in position. The cradle has cords at each end and is suspended from a transverse pole resting on two forked sticks. There are two examples of urine tubes, pipe-shaped for a male child (E. 291), and formed like an open canal for a female (E. 290). According to report they are not placed vertically as in the Kurdish *bishka*, but horizontally as in Kalmuck cradles.

[19] Of the three types of cradles used in Kurdistan, all of which are also used in Iran, the portable one seems to be a nomadic element deriving from the nomad tribes of Central Asia, the hammock cradle seems to be an Iranian-Arab element, whilst the stationary hanging cradle in a frame points towards India.

854 In the Kurdish *bishka* the child was only kept in and fastened to it at night, and in the two other types of cradle only by day as long as it slept. The child awake was carried around by bigger sisters or lay in the arms of sitting women. Out in the villages one always saw the slightly larger girls with a smaller child on their backs. Even a sick child, in one case a very sick child, is considered better placed

Fig. 91. Mother and child. Drawing in a house viewed through the eyes of a 10 years old boy. Sulaimani.

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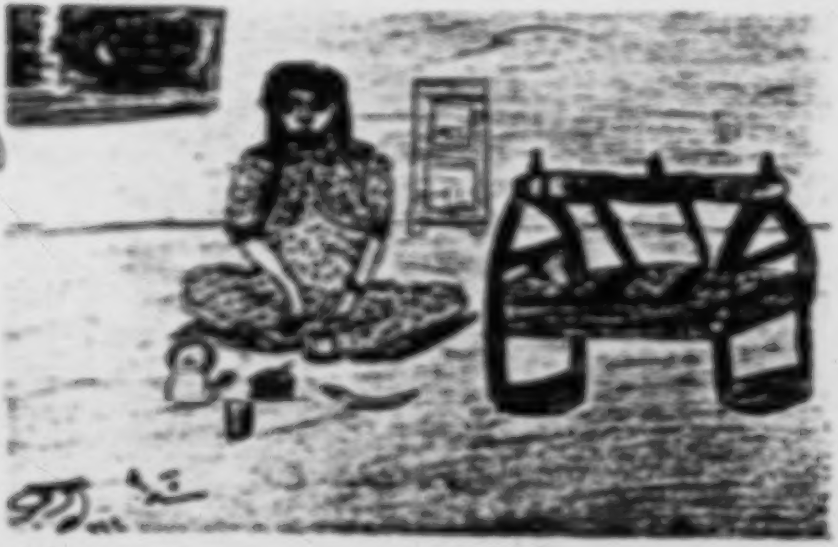

in its mother's arms or lap than in a cradle. If a child was to be put to sleep it was sometimes during the day laid on a mattress on the floor; if it was put in a cradle it was rocked to sleep. Women in a tailor's posture could be seen to stretch out the one leg to move the cradle without losing their balance. 859

Nursing. According to the Coran the period of nursing is a full two years. However, it says in the Sura 2, verse 233 that "no one should be charged beyond his capacity . . . If they (parents) desire to wean the child by mutual consent and (after) consultation, it is no sin for them . . .". In Southern Kurdistan children whose mothers were able to do so were nursed until they reached the age of two. However, many of the women I met were unable to nurse their children themselves. The reason for this may be the lack of proteins owing to the uniform diet, of which rice was the main constituent. Milk powder was sold in the city. It was bought and used, but with poor results, as it was not mixed with sufficient care, and adequate hygienic measures were not taken. On one occasion I saw a 4 months old baby, which was suffering from what the Arab doctor called "grave diarrhoea" was given in turn a milk mixture, lard-water, and strong sweet tea. From my interpreter's home in Sulaimani the sick child was taken to the hospital, where it was examined by the doctor, but the mother refused to let it be admitted to hospital. On the days following a nurse came and gave it injections against the stomach trouble diagnosed, and gave instructions concerning what the child could—and particularly what it could not—eat; but her directions were not followed. As a last measure to keep life in the baby, a woman who was nursing her own child was summoned in order that the sick baby could be placed at her breast, and on the last night the baby was alive someone was sent to this woman to obtain some of her milk. My interpreter told me that the mother of the sick baby had also been unable to nurse the previous child, which, at the time I was staying in the home, was three years old. My interpreter had kept her little half-sister alive by the help of raw yolks of egg. One was so accustomed to a high infant mortality that a child's life was not considered assured until it began to eat with adults. A certain fatalism was evinced about the death of infants[3]. 853 [183] [146] [177] [165]

As Islam permits no form of birth control, pregnancies are as frequent as the long nursing period permits. For example, my interpreter's 55 year old mother had been pregnant 12 times, though on several occasions this had been interrupted by natural abortion. The remainder had run their time, but so many of the children had died young that when I visited the home there were only three living, a son of 26 and two daughters aged 25 (my interpreter) and 23. The other wife, "my father's wife" as my interpreter called her, was 37 and had given birth 15 times. Nine of these offspring were alive: five daughters (18, 17, 16, 10 and 3 years of age) and four sons (13, 8, 6 and 4 months). 849 [842]

Blackman relates that in some districts in Egypt a husband is not permitted to use scent while his wife is nursing in order that the child shall not get spots all over its body[4]. After I had used a not very strongly-scented lotion whilst changing in my interpreter's home, it was declared that the condition of the sick infant had deteriorated because I had been in the same room. 753 854

A boy, *kurr*, is more desired than a girl, *kič*. Mohammed, who abolished the ancient Arab custom of burying new-born female infants alive, hints several times in the Coran that male children are more desirable than female[5]. The birth of a girl in Kurdistan might cause a husband, subjected to 842 [849] 000

842 The birth of a girl in Kurdistan might cause a husband [illegible]
[595] neighbours' presents, to initiate negotiations about one wife more, who would be able to bear him a son. Attempts were made to protect a male child against the evil eye by dressing it in girl's clothes,
[989] by sewing triangular amulet packets onto its clothes, and by fastening ornaments to its hair and glass beads and buttons around the arms. These ornaments were blue, the colour that averts evil (see amulets).

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304 859 Circumcision, an ancient Arab custom, is preserved in Islam, though not directly mentioned in the Coran. According to Juynboll the male child is circumcised on the 7th day, the 40th day, or not until its 7th year of life or on reaching puberty. According to Baring, circumcision is performed on the 8th day of life at the same time as the naming ceremony. In the case of the Kurdish boys, it is said to be practised when they are about 3 days old.

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852 553 *Naming ceremony.* In Southern Kurdistan the naming ceremony was said to take place on the child's 7th day of life. According to my interpreter, a mulla, sitting in a tailor's posture, took the child on his lap and whispered 7 times into its ear: "I call thee (name), son (daughter) of Hawa (Eve)". Examples of names for boys are: *'Arif, Hamid, Ja'far, Karim, Kamil, Mahmud, Majid,*
[951] *Muhammad, Qasim, Sa'id, Sardar, Wahid, Walid,* and for girls: *Aja, 'Aliya, Gulla, Hadija, Nafisa, Fatima, Sabiha.*

551 In accordance with Oriental custom the Kurds have no surname. In the case of men the addition of the title Sayyid or Sheikh existed. My host at the village of Topzawa was referred to by everybody, also by his wife, as "Sheikh" Tahir. In my experience the term sheikh was used in front of a man's name to describe a man of the village aristocracy belonging to the family that owned the village in question. For example there were *Sheikh Tahir* and his brother, usually called "Mamosh-Effendi", but whose real name was *Abdul Qadir Sheikh 'Arif*, who owned the villages of Topzawa and Bahrava in common. There was also a third brother, *Kaka Rind* (Elder brother R.) or *Sheikh Rind*, who owned the village of Sargala. The eldest son of Sheikh Tahir was likewise addressed as *Sheikh Sardar*. Thus the word sheikh is not a designation for a descendant of the prophet, as maintained by Barth and Lane, both of whom confuse the term "Sheikh" with that of "Sayyid". In Kurdistan, I found that "Sheikh" stood for a member of a tribal ruling family and also that, as maintained by Leach: "the name is however carried as an ordinary name". As regards the people I lived amongst the term carried with it no religious power or reputation of holiness.

[911] Additions like these, used in Arabia and Iran: "father to, slave of, son of ...." and so forth, are not used by the Kurds.

551 379 Women are addressed and referred to as "madame", (in my case Madame Henny, not Madame Hansen). In addition—a peculiarity of the Kurds—the male title "Khan" could be added to the name *of a distinguished woman*. My interpreter referred to and addressed her 3 year old sister as Bella Khan, called Sheikh Tahir's wife Na'ima Khan, and was herself referred to as Hafiza Khan.

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858 184 *The Kindergarten child. Analysis of the position of the child.* As opposed to Christianity, Islam allows no place for the infant and small child, as it first recognizes the child as a member of the community

when, at the age of 6-7, it has learnt in the Koran school the verses of the holy book and is able to take part in the daily religious exercises. On the other hand the home, as I saw it in Southern Kurdistan, had a larger place for the child as a member of the community than is the case with us. Childhood was not a period separated from the adult age, but a preparation for it.

Just as the mother or one of the other women in the home found it natural to have the infant in her arms as soon as it was awake during the day, so she found it quite in order to have what we should call the "kindergarten child" at her heels all over the place, in many cases participating in the various daily tasks.

The "child at play" was an unknown phenomenon, and toys were practically non-existent. Compared with our Western education after the introduction of what is sometimes euphemistically called "the century of the child", it seems to me that we often buy our children out of the adult community stressing the importance of the child's undisturbed playing-age by toys, nurseries and so forth. Kurdish society was so arranged as also to include the child. At the various ages the child moved to definite place in the family hierarchy. It grew up self-trained in its coming duties, with an assured feeling of its position and what was expected of it. Without any sudden transition it glided into the ranks of the adults.

Both in the case of guests and members of the family, including children, a very polite social convention prevailed, though this did not prevent outbursts or noisy conduct. The ideal was a calm and dignified behaviour, and this also meant that one always took one's time. This made social intercourse extremely pleasant and apparently had a calming effect on the children. It may well be that the thoroughly cultivated manner was merely an outer form, but it helped to create a pleasant atmosphere in the homes. All conversation took place in a calm and worthy way with numerous pauses. As Gorer has already pointed out, the Oriental does not, like the European, regard it as good form to chat all the time. The position of the children was noticed comparatively little, even when there were many, because life in the house and their participation in the daily round provided a natural outlet for their energies. Many of the functions in the home which with us are performed by the water supply, gas, technical aids etc. necessitated with the Kurds human assistance which did not exceed the powers of children. Many of the amenities we consider a matter of course were replaced by the efforts of the young, just as the adults' mode of life and whole pattern of behaviour, the outward symptom of which is dignity, required the service that the children were able to provide. In individual cases this could result in misuse. I observed that one lazy step-mother grossly misused and over-worked a 12 year old step-daughter. However, this was more due to ignorance as to what a child's strength could stand and how much sleep a growing child required than to ill-will. Life in Southern Kurdistan was hard for the adults also, child mortality dreadfully high. As in all communities at a medieval stage, only the best equipped survived. Medical assistance was rare, hygiene limited. The physical world in Southern Kurdistan was hard, but on the other hand the psychic climate was more clement than our's. Children were seldom treated angrily and I only experienced the time of punishment. The children's participation in the activities of adults was apparently consistent with their natural impulses, and the company of grown-ups provided the children with so much entertainment and so many tasks that they prided themselves on performing, that conflict situations were confined to a minimum, and were not expressed in aggressions with subsequent punishment and the

In some villages there was a primary school, for example in [illegible], [illegible] and [illegible], but not by any means in all. In [illegible] and [illegible] there were no schools. Sometimes there would be a Coran school in connection with a mosque as, for example, at [illegible], which children attended until their proper schooling began. As regards school conditions, reference should be made to Longrigg and Stoakes[?]. I shall here deal with the reflection of the school in the homes where I stayed, the effect of some members of the family having learned, or being about to learn, to read and write. 992

As pointed out by Longrigg and Stoakes, the acquisition of book learning is marked by the fact that the passage of both primary and secondary schools becomes "the watershed"[?] in a community like the Kurdish. How decisive a watershed, can be seen if we observe the difference between working conditions in the schools arranged on the Western pattern, and in the Kurdish homes.

The school and exercise books brought home by the [illegible] sheikh's 13 year old son during the holidays appeared to be completely unadaptable foreign elements in the atmosphere of the home. In the first place there was no possibility of placing or keeping the books anywhere except in the wall niches, repositories for many household articles and quite unsuited to books. Nor was there any [illegible] table in the dwelling pattern, where all work was done on the floor. In addition it was impossible to read and study in quiet surroundings, for the house offered neither space nor possibility for private life. 853 1000 992

In my interpreter's home at Sulaimani, I found examples of the various training possibilities open to young women in Southern Kurdistan in 1957. My interpreter had been trained as a folk-school teacher at the Teachers' Training College in Baghdad[?]. During her studies she had lived there as a boarder. The training here lasted two years if the girl was to teach at one of the [illegible] primary schools which were beginning to be opened in villages, and three years if she were to teach in a corresponding school in the towns. My interpreter had taken the 3 year course, and was at the time I lived in her home, a teacher at the [illegible] School for Girls opened in Sulaimani in [illegible]. In her home I was able to see how incompatible [illegible] the family's daily pattern of behaviour was the school work of her [illegible] year old sister, who after the summer holidays would have to pass an exam in mathematics to complete the 3 years intermediate school. Her school and exercise books, her protractor and ruler, lay in the wall niches all mixed up with cups, glasses, [illegible]. She herself sat on the floor in a corner and tried to work in [illegible] as the [illegible] and [illegible] she was engaged in. Finally she left the house. With books and drawing instruments under her arm she wandered off to stay with her newly-married sister whose husband had left shortly after marriage to teach in one of the villages. The whole life pattern, with [illegible] women in the home, where all contact between women took place in the home, conditions for working school children were decidedly poor. Where, as in Sulaimani's urban milieu, girls at school are absent from the home for many hours a day, their home training as wives and mothers is interrupted. If the half-grown up daughters were engaged in schooling and the adult ones were teachers, as was the case in my interpreter's home in Sulaimani, all cooking, washing and washing-up for a family of 12 persons devolved, except for the holidays, on the two uneducated wives at home. In addition there was the [illegible] of goats and the baking of bread which is [illegible] delegated to [illegible]. 1004 952 992 89

If, therefore, the working effort of the daughters is removed from the home, an [illegible] (726)

adulthood that will provide that deep contentment of soul, the harmony of mind, that I came across in the village women who could neither read nor write?

The boys, even as small as 6-7 years of age, led in Sulaimani what we should call a street life. Playgrounds were unknown, corresponding to the fact that the attitude there was not that childhood should be passed in play. To give street life its due, it must be remembered that the men, so to say, live in the street (while the women and small children occupy the home). In work and at leisure boys and men spend their time outside the home. In consequence the boys obtained a street education among men, and we must return to ancient Greece to discover a parallel showing the positive and negative aspects of this form of education.

The Coran, Sure 4, verse 1, says: "Be careful of your duty towards Allah ..... and towards the wombs (that bare you)". This command is honoured to a high degree on the part of a son. To illustrate the intimate relations between mother and son, I once saw a young Kurd climbing up the steep hill to the small hospital at the Dukan Dam Site with his sick mother on his back, apparently a more comfortable mode of transport for her than a donkey or a mule.

MARRIAGE

The limitations to the choice of spouse are found in the Coran. A man cannot marry his own mother (or other of his father's wives), his daughter or granddaughter, his mother's sister, his father's sister, his sister, his brother's daughter, his mother-in-law or step-daughter. But, in addition, a non-marriageable relationship exists not only between blood relations and intermarried persons but also in respect of milk kinship, which is put on a par with blood relationship. As the law at the same time recommends that a spouse be sought within the family, marriage possibilities are cousins and second cousins, that is the descendants of uncles, aunts, great uncles and great aunts. Of these marriage possibilities the cousin on the father's side is preferable and then the cousin on the mother's side. The terms in the Kurdish kinship system, partly descriptive indicating the genealogical distance between close relatives, are: father's brother's daughter, amoza (orthocousin marriage), father's sister's daughter, pūrza (crosscousin marriage), mother's brother's daughter, xaloza (crosscousin marriage), and mother's sister's daughter, pūrza (orthocousin marriage).

In the homes I stayed in I met in the village apart from the father's brother's daughter wedding which, according to Leach and Barth is that preferred by Kurds. In the sheikh family at Tapessa the wife was the daughter of the father's brother in Sergalu. In Serkan two of the sheikh's three married sons were married to two sisters, both daughters of the father's brother. According to Leach the marriages of village leaders "tend to form political alliances" like the "Royal marriages of medieval Europe". In my experience this was not so, for the most I met were the father's brother's daughter choice as common in lower strata.

It was found that two families could exchange daughters. Both my interpreter and Sheikh Taher's brother said that if the desired bride had an elder brother, a bride for him is demanded from the bridegroom's family. When asked, the 18 year old son of the Sheikh of Tapessa said further that a man in the valley was able to marry anyone he wished. However, I do not think that too much faith

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KINSHIP TERMS

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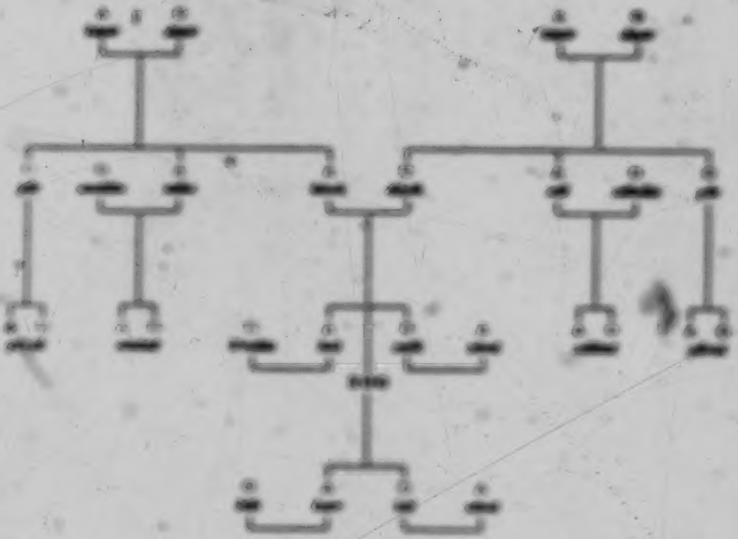

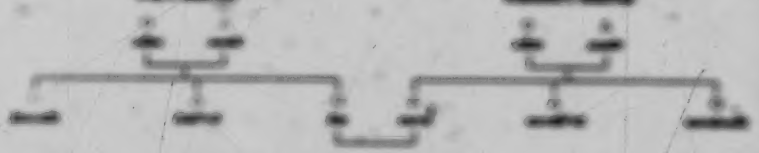

[illegible]

were exceedingly modest. Modesty, on the other hand, was of a type different from what we are accustomed to in our pattern of behaviour. 834

They felt shame at displaying the naked body. All changing of clothes during the day among women took place in a squatting position without the body at any time being uncovered. An sleeveless European summer dress in which the daughter of the Sheikh of Topzawa had wanted to be photographed caused her to break off the sitting and to dash into the dark confinement in the courtyard, where she sat hunched up in the corner with her naked arms clung protectively around her bare legs, when two peasant women from the village, fetching water, happened to pass the gate to the courtyard. In the urban milieu, when my interpreter and I took a steam bath together in the bathroom, she always kept her hand covering her lap when the sitting position on the small wooden stools while being dressed was not sufficiently concealing.

On the other hand shyness did not apply when relieving nature. This took place collectively and in 834 the presence of other women fetching water from the basin, when water was available for the subsequent washing, whether in the garden basin of the sheikh's houses at Topzawa and Serkan, at the 914 more private toilet-like shelf in the courtyard of the Sheikh's house at Sergelu, or at one of the big public washing basins for women in the village. This was done discreetly sheltered by the amplitude of women's costumes, but was not a private but a joint undertaking, in which solitude and peace was neither sought nor expected.

The wedding. Lane[19] says that Arabs have a special preference for Mondays and Fridays for the 585 celebration of weddings—that is to say the day on which the bride is handed over to the bridegroom— 114 whereas, according to Haugi[20], the Turk-annexed Bosnian Muslims favour Sundays and Thursdays.

To judge by the four wedding feasts I had an opportunity of witnessing, wholly or in part, in Southern Kurdistan, the Kurds appear to follow the Turks in this matter. In the villages the two [117] weddings took place on Sundays (16 June and 14 July, 1957), the third on a Wednesday (22 May, 1957), while the one wedding I was present at in Sulaimani was celebrated on a Thursday (8 August, 1957). Later my interpreter informed me by letter of her brother's wedding, which took place on a Monday (25 August, 1958). No rule can be discerned from such sparse material, merely the negative one that the Arab predilection for Friday—the most important day of the week for Islam—as the day for the handing over of the bride does not apply in the case of the Kurds. The weddings I witnessed in Topzawa and its neighbouring village, Bahrawa, took place in a humble village milieu. The upper class village milieu wedding was not celebrated during my stay in Southern Kurdistan.

At two of the three village weddings I was able to observe the men's role in the festivities, at the 585 third the women's. In all three cases, however, I was in the bridegroom's house to which the bride was brought. In none of the cases did I have an opportunity to see what went on in the bride's home.

The fetching of the brides, Adi, who all made their entry, was a matter for the men[21]. At 8 in the morning a cortège of hired cars filled with men left the village for the bride's residence. Among the men, most of those in the village, was the bridegroom's father, but not the bridegroom, clad

585 With one or two other young men and relatives he awaited the arrival of the bride at his family home
[591] which in future was also to be her's. Although these weddings were celebrated by peasants, a represen-
tative of the sheikh's house, either himself or his son, took part in the fetching of the bride. On the
return to the village, the cortège now comprised a car containing the bride accompanied by two
women: a female relative who must not be the mother[131], and the woman who later should return
to the bride's family with the bridal sheet and its evidence of the bride's virginity. At another wedding,
which took place at Rakawa to which cars could not reach, the bride was carried the last stretch by
a white mare accompanied by women on foot. That the horse was a mare was to promote child-
bearing. On arrival at the house the bride and her companions are led in, their arrival being awaited
by the female guests, whilst the men assemble on the clay roof of the house or on that of a neighbour,
where carpets are spread out, ones own and borrowed, and the festive meal is partaken. The law
requires that all invited to this meal must attend unless there is valid reason for not doing so. On the
[591] other hand the host—in this case the father of the bridegroom—must ensure that the meal takes place
[601] in accordance with Islamic law[132]. The meal is prepared by the women but served by men for other
men. Men also attend to the samovar and serve tea[133]. No woman lets herself be seen by the men.
The festivities for the two groups take place in strict segregation. When the meal is over, the men's
[535] dance begins on a small, uneven ground between the houses. The wedding festivities never lasted for
more than one day.

The men's dance is a chain dance, in which, standing side by side, they take each other's hands and
585 at the same time place their forearm round that of the other man so that they stand shoulder to
535 shoulder. The outside man of the chain waves a cloth in his raised free hand. The chain forms a semi-
circle, and the steps take place radially, in towards the centre and out again, whilst the men in the
semicircle slowly move sideways. This dance resembles the Yugoslav Kolo, danced in the Balkans, a
resemblance also pointed out by Wilson[134]. The same chain dance is reported from the Lurs in
[171] Iran[135] and from the Bakhtiari[136], where its similarity to the Greek Arvanitika is pointed out. However,
both in Yugoslavia and in Iran the men appear during the dance to hold each other by the belt,
whereas the Kurds hold each other firmly by the hand.

534 The accompanying music is produced by a drummer and a clarinettist, whilst a third person in
585 the group of itinerant musicians collected money thrown to him by the spectators which he kept in
a cloth stuck up under his waistband. The drum[137] hung on a cord round the drummer's neck and
was played with two drumsticks, one of which was a thin, straight baton, the other a thicker, flat
stick bent at the end. They were used on each side of the drum, and after use were stuck together.
The clarinet[138] had a funnel-shaped bend, and when not in use was split into two pieces which were
fitted into each other and placed in the waistband. These musicians arrived some days before the
wedding was to take place and played to the men of the village in the small village tea house, in the
585 afternoon and evening when the men danced the chain dance for hours in the light of two borrowed
533 pressure lamps. The monotonous rhythm of the dance was stimulating, and ended in Topzawa one
evening with accentuating revolver shots fired by the sheikh's son with an American or European
revolver of which the house possessed three or four. There was less interval between tones than in
European music, quarter tones being used instead of our semitones. There was no polyphony or

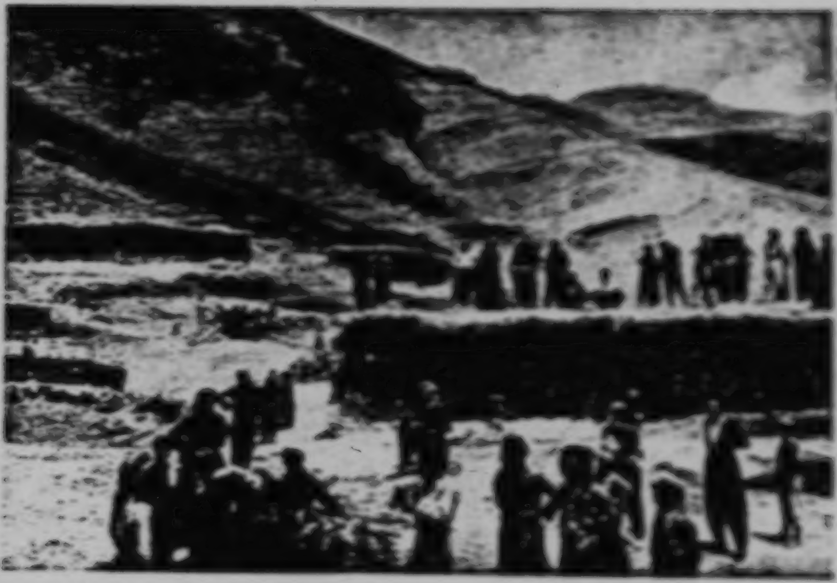

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Fig. 52. Wedding dance. Men dance in a row to the music of a drum and a clarinet. Rakawa.

harmonization, so, as Berry[29] points out, this music to us sounds flat and false. Other instruments include a 20-30 cm. long shepherd's pipe, both single and double (E. 2280-81), referred to by Hay[30], one of which I acquired though I did not hear it played. 585 583 [534]

To sum up: At a village wedding among peasants the men's rôle comprises fetching the bride at daybreak, about 6 a.m. accompanying her to the bridegroom's home and participation in the festive meal there. (At the one wedding in Rakawa it was said that 300 men were fed simultaneously.) Then a chain dance which, ending at about 4 p.m. is a sign that the festival is over, whereafter the men go home. In addition to the bride price paid by the bridegroom, his parents must, in the villages, pay for the cars used to fetch the bride and for the wedding meal and dance. 585 562

The women's part runs parallel to the men's without the two groups having any contact with each other. The women invited to the party assembled in the bridegroom's home some hours before the men's cortège, including the bride's car, could be expected to come into sight on the narrow mountain track leading to the village. At the wedding I witnessed, the women were given the three-walled central room on the first floor that opened out on to the clay roof covering the entrance hall to the house, 585

585 from which clay stairs, with high, narrow steps, led up. From the back wall of the room there was access to two smaller apartments, the one of which was to be the bridal chamber. Mattresses to sit on were spread out along the back wall for the reception of the bride, and under them was placed a lump of honey wrapped in a bread "pancake". It was stated that this should assure the gentleness and sweetness of the bride. Naturally, the women brought with them their children of all ages so the room was full to overflowing. The places of honour for the sheikh's wife and daughter were on the mattresses facing the back wall. Entertainment during the wait consisted of cigarettes of Kurdish tobacco and very sweet tea served by the youngest of the women present, a girl of about 12. Into this feminine milieu, where the hostess was the bridegroom's mother, came, when the car cortège was sighted, the bridegroom and one or two male relatives who, like him, had not participated in the fetching of the bride. They helped him to smooth a stick about 2 metres long with which he took up his stand on the edge of the roof just above the entrance door, surrounded by the women, who had pressed up and gone across the roof to him. Sweetmeats were passed round among the women; a fowl was held ready by a woman standing at the side of the bridegroom. When the bride was taken out of the bridal car she was led towards the house, supported by her two female companions, the aunt and the midwife from her own home. Like the other brides brought to the village she had over her turban a reddish-yellow, transparent gauze veil hanging down over her face, reddish-yellow was also the predominant colour of her dress, which despite the great heat consisted of so many layers of clothing that she had difficulty in moving. The costume was without belt, but this was no exception as women often went without belts. It had therefore hardly the significance mentioned by Granqvist in the case of the Palestinian Arabs: that the absence of the belt was to make her prolific. As the bride approached the entrance to the house and was about to cross the threshold, the fowl was released and flew over her beating its wings; at the same time the bridegroom lifted the heavy stick, which he held in both hands, and gave her a powerful blow on the crown of the head. He and the other young men thereupon disappeared from the women's group and were not seen again as long as the guests stayed in the house. The bride was helped up the stairs by her two women companions, led across the room and given a seat on a mattress. The mother of the bridegroom bade her welcome by bending over her and placing her head first against her right, and then against her left, shoulder, whereafter the bride's reddish-yellow veil was raised and the women pressed around her in order to see the new member of the village community. It was stated that this bride and bridegroom had never seen each other before the wedding, and the only contact they had had so far was the blow given by the groom to his bride on her arrival at her future home. The bride's trousseau, purchased with the bride price, in this case supplemented by dresses given by the family, was carried up the stairs after her. The bridal chest (E. 2278) with a painted glass front, containing the rolled-up mattresses stuffed with cotton that were to comprise the marriage bed, and the unavoidable battery-operated wireless set, were carried into the room that was to serve as the bridal chamber.

585 The bride was tattooed on the back of the hand with three dots at the base of the little finger. Her finger tips were stained with henna as were also the palms, the latter being painted with a sun, a crescent moon and a star. She wore stockings, a thing otherwise only seen among Turkish women in Mosul, so it was not possible to know whether her feet also were henna-stained.

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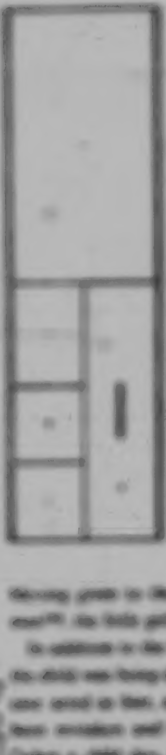

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WOMAN'S PLACE IN THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF ISLAM

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[P.145]

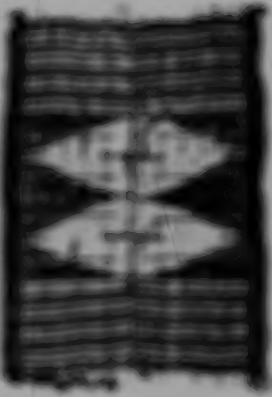


Fig. 96.
Prayer rug of goats' wool in natural colours. [illegible]

knee-hanging veils of [illegible] down over the head with the ends round their necks, so that the veil formed a hood which allowed only the face to be seen. If wearing shoes they stepped out of them and with their bare feet trod on the hem of their long kirtle, thus hiding their feet. They then [illegible] their long, wedge-shaped sleeves that were either wound round their forearms or hanging down their flanks, tied together at the ends, so that they fell to the ground over hands and fingers, which were thus also hidden by the sleeves. When these preparations were concluded, the woman adopted the first position of prayer and announced her intention of praising God, which constitutes the introduction to the prayer itself. She then raised her hands with the palms turned forwards within the [illegible] of the kirtle until they were outside her ears and announced "God is great" — She then lowered her hands and, with the right hand grasping the left wrist, recited the opening Sura of the Koran, followed by one or more passages from the holy book. She then bowed forwards from the hips with her hands on the knees, then went down on her knees to perform the double prostration of which the midday prayer comprises four sets, rak'a, ending in the kneeling position while reciting the declaration of faith, the ritual greetings, and turning the head first to the left and then to the right. According to [illegible] the prayer can be divided into nine positions, the positions 1-8, that is to say six positions, constituting a rak'a, whereas [illegible] allows seven positions to each rak'a, as he includes the first standing posture and counts one standing position between, at [illegible] beginning of, each [illegible].

The afternoon prayer, like the midday prayer with four rak'a, was usually said on the clay roof about 4 p.m., shortly before sundown.

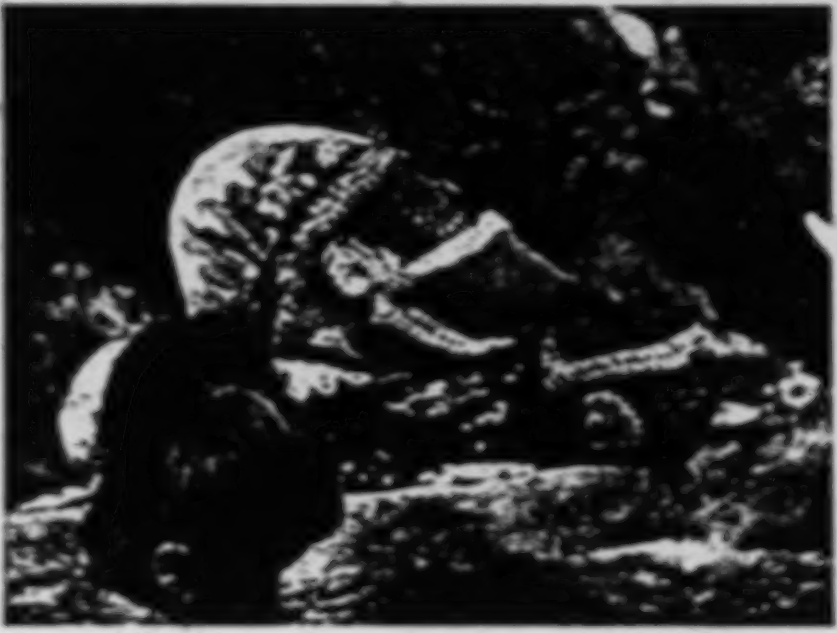
On the other hand the sunset prayer with only three rak'a took place down in the three-walled central room at about 6 p.m., as did the evening prayer comprising four rak'a at 8-10 p.m.

The morning prayer with its two rak'a took place so early that I had no possibility of witnessing it, my bedroom in the guests' wing in the courtyard being cut off from the family house. 982 1119

The characteristic features of the women's recital of the five daily prayers were: the women acted individually[8], never in concert and not always at the same time (though, as the law prescribes, within the several prayer periods, which do not end until the next begins). Prayers were said in the home with the life of the family going on around the person praying. Children might be fighting for a knife in dangerous proximity to a samovar filled with glowing charcoal and boiling water, the son might be sitting shaving himself, with the only pressure lamp in the room placed on one of the octagonal smoking tables, the room could be full of talking, tea-drinking people, nothing disturbed the deep concentration that is necessary if the prayer is not to lose its value and be repeated. Nor did anyone present make any direct attempt to commit the unforgivable sin[9] of interrupting the worshipper. [376]

Leach[10] may well be right in saying that in the case of the Kurds there is a certain prestige in showing oneself to be a pious Muslim, and that this can be extended also to apply to the women's display of

Fig. 55. Woman praying in the forest on a stone beside the water basin. [illegible]



[782] [96] [291]

782 779 pious exercises, which in the evenings alternated with those of the men within the periods of the sunset and evening prayers.

The youngest girl I saw engaged in prayer was 17 years old; the 8-12 years old I did not see pray.

[859] [863] The humble village woman said her prayers at the places where she fetched water, where there was an opportunity to perform the small ablution. This consisted of washing the face, water being conveyed to the face in the hollow of the hands and then wiped off again by a descending motion of the palms to avoid splashing the clothes; the hands and forearms are then washed, the wet right hand being [788] [515] passed over the hair as a symbolical washing of the whole head. The ablution is concluded by washing the feet. At the same time the woman has as a rule first used the water basin, or the outflow of the spring from the watering place, as a latrine with subsequent washing of the private parts, so that, both physically and ritually clean, she can step onto the large flat stone, usually to be found at watering places, intended as a substitute for the prayer rug and of about the same size.

782 562 565 369 The women in the educated urban milieu of Sulaimani did not pray. I only came across one exception to this: my interpreter's younger sister, who was to marry into a family where the women belonged to the uneducated milieu, though the coming husband, like herself, was a trained school teacher, prayed industriously—at all events in the time preceding her wedding.

Among the uneducated women of Sulaimani one met piety and punctual religious observance, at all events in regard to the afternoon, sunset and evening prayers. At an evening party the prayer rug could be lent to guests, opportunity provided for ablution, and then respect accorded to the devotions of those involved. I noticed also that the women of the village aristocracy at Topzawa were afforded the same facilities during their visit to an Iraqi engineer living in one of the houses at the Dokan Dam Site. Here guests performed the ritual ablutions in a European bath room supplied with hot and cold water. However, this was not as convenient as the garden basin at home in the village. The prayer carpet was then spread out on the parquet floor of the bedroom, which on that day acted as dining, living and midday rest room for the women of the company, the living and dining rooms of the house being used as guest house by the men. The duty to give alms, I saw practised in the aristocratic village home at Topzawa. Two beggars, the younger of whom, being blind, was led by his hand being placed [935] on the shoulder of the other, both had sugar and flour poured into their begging bags, which they carried either in the waistband or over the shoulder. Two invalid women were given articles from the family's ample wardrobe before continuing on crutches their wanderings from village to village. The women in the sheikh's home, mother and grown-up daughter, were apparently not subjected to any restriction in regard to the fulfilment of this duty, which constitutes the Islam's third pillar, even though the men of the house, the sheikh and his younger brother, who also lived in the house, were away.

982 935 The result of this obligatory giving of alms in Sulaimani is that permanently-stationed beggars are able to exist on the charity of the men in the street. With a child lying in her lap a veiled woman sat on the ground like a black cone at the entrance to the mosque in the hope of benefiting from the alms of duty of passers-by. In the courtyard of the mosque itself, a feeble-minded girl was deposited every day by her parents in what looked like a European perambulator, with a bowl between her deformed hands. It was said that although there was a public institution for both the classes of beggars mentioned, they were able to manage better on the alms obligation ordained by the Coran than they would if they

entered the institution which, as far as I could understand, hardly ranked higher than our purchases of former days. 782 935

The ritual fast in the month of ramadân began in 1957 on April 2nd. The thirty days during which the orthodox Muslim, whether man or woman, must refrain from eating food, solid or liquid, from tobacco, and from all sexual intercourse, from such time in the morning as it is possible to distinguish between a white and a black thread until sundown, I did not experience during my four months stay in Southern Kurdistan. Nor did I witness the concluding festival day, and the following six days, during which women who have had their menstruation period during the fast month and as a result of this condition of impurity were unable to comply with the fast, can rectify this omission. 785 196 [249] [834]

On the other hand I did see a woman fasting on her own for a day as a result of a promise to do so, believing that by so doing she would bring good fortune to others. The day was July 30th, which, in 1957, corresponded to the first day in the month of pilgrimage. The fasting woman was the wife of the sheikh at Sargalu. I noticed that although she abstained from eating, drinking and smoking the whole of a long, hot day, the temperature reaching 122°F., where abstention from drinking, particularly, demanded an inhuman strength of will and self control, she attended to her domestic duties, which consisted, among other things, in milking goats, cooking and serving meals to a numerous family. Her fast was due to a promise given in connection with the participation of a relative in a pilgrimage to Mecca, the centre and holy city of the Islamic world, a long, expensive and still risky journey. 785 264

We have now reached the fifth and last pillar of Islam, the pilgrimage, in the 12th lunar month. The Coran says in Sura 3, verse 97, that "pilgrimage to the House is a duty unto Allah for mankind, for him who can find a way thither". Out of the four feminine environments I experienced in Kurdistan, the only women I met who had undertaken a pilgrimage came from the modernized urban milieu. Of these there were several. In a joint family that owned various shops in the city and several large cars that were hired out, a woman, her husband and an 8 year old daughter had the year before taken part in a pilgrimage by plane Damascus-Jiddah, and two other women in the same family group had made the journey with other pilgrims. 788

The most complete information about the pilgrimage was obtained from two women of about the the same age who were married to the same business man in Kirkuk. Each had been a member of a group of pilgrims, one going the one year and the other the next. The one had taken a plane via Damascus to Jiddah, while the other had gone by bus across the Syrian desert to Beirut, and then by ship through the Suez Canal to Jiddah. In the latter case the journey had taken about two months and had cost about 200 Dn. (say £200). [484]

In the same way that the returned male pilgrims mark the greatest experience of their lives and their changed position in society by a white band around their headdress, so Kurdish women must observe certain sartorial rules after a pilgrimage. Even among women the head must never again be bared. The light head veil, [illegible], must be worn even in the closest family circle, where other women are allowed to dispense with it. The arm, from elbow to hand, must never be shown naked which is 554 788 292

554 784 292 normally the case when the funnel-shaped cuffs are tied together and thrown over the shoulder. The two women in question had brought back with them coloured oleographs of the holy places, to be hung up in the home, and coloured silk scarves for friends and relations.

788 [565] Whereas it was in the uneducated urban milieu that I met women who had undertaken the ordained pilgrimage, I had in Sulaimani an opportunity to follow in a mixed educated and uneducated urban milieu the feast days in the twelfth month of the year, which are celebrated in the homes whilst pilgrims are engaged in the visit and the ceremonies at Mecca connected with it, four days around the 10th *du-l-hijja* namely 9-12, which in 1957 were Monday 8th July to Thursday 11th July.

[292] Pilgrims arrived at Mecca as early as Saturday the 7th (6th July 1957), and by entering the holy area, assumed a state of continence and religious dedication. This is marked by the fact that the men put on two unstitched draperies, a shoulder cloth and a loin cloth. Dickson[13] states that the colour for men is white, whilst women's dress on this occasion must be green. Women must not be veiled[14].

[778] On this day the Mecca pilgrim performs the seven-fold encirclement of the *Ka'ba*, the carpet-covered, cubic "Allah's house", originally a heathen sanctuary, the corners of which are orientated to the four cardinal points of the compass. The encirclements, three of which must be performed running, begin at the black stone, the *Ka'ba* being to the left, on the side of the heart. The black stone must be kissed or touched. Then comes prayer. The pilgrims now visit the holy spring, *Zamzam*, which gushed forth, a miracle, to refresh Hagar's son Ismael when he was dying of thirst. The seven-fold course between the two low hills, *Safa* and *Marwa* is performed in remembrance of Hagar, who here ran desperately back and forth, calling to heaven for water for her dying son, after she at the instance of Sara had been sent into the desert by Abraham. The course is finished by hair-cutting at Marwa, where the women sacrifice the tips of their plaits.

I had no opportunity of seeing whether there was anything in the families in the homeland that corresponded to the days' ceremonies at Mecca. A meal was given in the middle of the day in my interpreter's home; other guests should have been present, but were unable to come. This, however, had no special connexion with the pilgrimage.

[262] [252] The following day, Sunday the 8th (7th July 1957) pilgrims leave Mecca on a four-hour camel ride to the plateau 'Arafāt which they reach in the evening. It is recommended that the family in the homeland should fast on that day, but this is seldom observed. In my interpreter's home at Sulaimani, as in other homes, a special kind of nut cakes were baked, which were served on the day after, when visits were paid. These cakes were made in spoon-shaped, dual, wooden moulds, grooved inside. The dough was patted into a flat disc, which was laid in the one half of the mould. A filling of chopped almonds, sugar and raisins was laid on top and the dough folded over it before the other half was laid on top like a lid, pressing the cake into shape.

788 529 857 Monday the 9th (8th July 1957) the pilgrims spend in meditation on the plateau. It is recommended that a fast be observed in the homeland, but it rarely is. In Kurdistan it was Children's Day. Children in hundreds swarmed all over Sulaimani in new, miniature editions of adult clothing. The flock of children was composed of boys and girls from 3-4 up to 10 years of age. Swings had been set up on the outskirts of the town. However, the main purpose, for which they had been given pocket money, was to drive round in open carriages which that day were available for hire by groups of children. A

traffic jam arose as a result of the meeting between the increasing car traffic and the crowd of children who swarmed about as though there only existed mules, donkeys and four-wheelers in the streets of the town. 788 527 857

Tuesday, the 10th (9th July 1957) is the first big day of sacrifice for pilgrims in Mecca, the actual *'eid-i-qurbán* or *qurbán bairám*, that is kept in Miná on the return from 'Arafát to Mecca. Here sheep are offered in remembrance of Ismael (or Isaac), whose sacrifice was replaced by that of a ram. In addition seven stones are cast at three pillars of masonry known as Great Devil, Middle Pillar and Little One, recalling Abraham's meeting with Satan, whom he repelled with stones. At home in Sulaimani large flocks of sheep could be seen being driven into the town for sacrifice. It was said that a sheep or a three-year old heifer was sacrificed by all who could afford it. The age of the heifer corresponded to the idea that Ismael was that age when his father was ordered to sacrifice him. On this day also children are sent out into the town in fine clothes to drive about in carriages and to see the swings. At that time a public exhibition was held of children's drawings, done by schoolboys of about 12 years of age. Whether this exhibition was arranged specially in connection with these days, or not, I was unable to discover. 788 782

On Wednesday, the 11th (10th July 1957) pilgrims in Mecca pass round the *ka'ba* seven times and run seven times between the two mounts, *Safá* and *Marwa*, whereafter they proceed to Miná where another day of sacrifice is celebrated. In Sulaimani family visits were made on this day. My interpreter's stepmother, with two adolescent daughters and three sons aged 12, 6 years and 4 months, went by hired car on a family visit to Halabja for several days. This is also the day for family excursions in the form of picnics in the park by the bar near Sarchinar, where the town's well-filtered water supply flows between the trees in open canal. Here are arbours and camping grounds for the numerous members of the joint families, which take out with them everything required for a day's cooking: cooking utensils, charcoal, samovar, food and water melons. There the whole day is spent in cool and refreshing surroundings. 788 796 527

Thursday, the 12th (11th July 1957), for pilgrims the third sacrificial festival at Miná. In the homeland family and other visits.

Friday, the 13th (12th July 1957). Departure from *Miná* with concluding stone-throwing at the three stone pillars. Then final visit to Mecca itself. The last circumambulation around the *ka'ba*, and the drinking of the holy water from the well or spring of *Zamzam*. In the homeland, in Sulaimani, a thousand men assembled for common prayer in the largest of the mosques at midday. In the homes the women awaited the return of their menfolk and postponed the chief meal of the day until they arrived.

I have attempted here to give an account of the ceremonies in the home milieu that run parallel with the culminating days of the Mecca pilgrimage. How these days were passed by men in the town I was unable to observe.

To sum up the characteristic features of the position of religion in the life of the Kurdish women: 788 771

When respected, as is the case among uneducated women in the villages and towns, the five daily prayers interrupt the daily work and constitute a form of intellectual life. These pious exercises cause one to concentrate on things other than the purely material; they give content and a feeling of relaxation to daily life. One is five times reminded in the course of the day that one is a member of a Muslim community totalling more than 250 million people, and takes part in ceremonies that one knows are

788 771 in common with them. This great feeling of religious affinity dissipates any sense of loneliness and desolation. Five times a day it is the duty of a woman to wash herself and arrange her dress, and to concentrate on something other than her monotonous labours, a right and a duty to withdraw into herself, and to demand this respected by all in the vicinity. It bolsters up a person's self-esteem to know that five times a day one can demand a square metre's space and 3-4 minutes, during which no disturbance is allowed, not even from the naughtiest child; that in this space a person's spiritual side is isolated from its surroundings, yet at one with millions of others praising God, a unity that transcends race and frontiers.

788 431 The duty to give alms is the pillar of Islam most closely paralleled in our own society until social welfare took over most forms of private charity.

785 The fast, like the five daily prayers, is a method of being included in a great spiritual and religious fellowship. By subjecting oneself in the month of *ramadān* to the same physical deprivations and suffering as the other adherents to Islam a feeling of solidarity, of affinity, is engendered.

788 784 781 562 For those fortunate to be able to make it, the pilgrimage is a form of foreign travel that has no counterpart elsewhere. Once more it means entering a great religious association, enduring with others the rigours of the journey and with them assuming a state of sanctity or initiation. The stay in Mecca constitutes a series of ecstatic experiences which women and men who have taken part in them never cease to talk about. These experiences set their mark on the soul and are later outwardly manifested by the clothing rules referred to. In the five daily prayer periods, in the thirty days of the fast, and on the days of pilgrimage, women enter the great congregation of the orthodox on an equal footing with men. These events are such a break in the daily life that they must be considered a spiritual luxury, quite incompatible with the wretched life pattern of our industrialised community. The demands made by Islam on the time of the individual cannot be reconciled with our Western rhythm of life. In return, these demands give to daily life a spiritual content extremely difficult of replacement by anything else whatever. When even a hard-working housewife like the young woman I saw in [illegible], whose daily work covered husband, child, house, mulberry plantation and the milking of goats twice daily in the mountains, felt that she had the right to take the time to say her daily prayers before preparing dough for bread making or before loading the heavy goatskin of water on her back, it must give her a feeling of human worth in the middle of her inhuman labours. She possessed the right and the duty to collect herself five times daily, to be silent and to consider spiritual matters, and nothing in the world could deprive her of this. It is not surprising that the Islamic Kurdish women conducted themselves with calm and dignity. So long as certain inviolable areas of time and thought exist for them, the daily drudgery will never be able to engulf them entirely.

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841 *Uncleanliness.* During menstruation the women in the educated and uneducated milieu in Sulaimani (from whom I derived information) used home-made rectangular sanitary towels made out of several layers of cotton material with tapes at the four corners. The tapes were tied together two by two so that the towel was suspended from the woman's hips. The waist was not used as a support in any

Kurdish articles of clothing. It was said that the sanitary towels were washed by the young woman herself in private, but were publicly hung out to dry with all other articles of clothing. 841

Menstruation and menses in this connection were mainly a problem for the young unmarried girl. The long nursing period and successive pregnancies made the question of menstruation less topical for the married woman than is the case in our culture. During menstruation a woman is ritually unclean. She must not enter a holy place (see p. 139), must not touch the Coran, which is the reason why it is hung up in the bedroom in a pouch specially sewn for it (see p. 124). Only the big ablution of the whole body can make the woman ritually pure at the end of the menstruation period. The big ablution is also necessary for married couples after intercourse in order to comply with the rules governing prayer (see p. 37); in consequence the family is kept informed as regards sexual relations. 515 788

Sufism among the Kurds. "They are *haqqa*", said both the Arab mayor of Sulaimani and the Arab *qaimmaqam* of Rania with a mixture of contempt and horror about the sheikh families in Tapawa and Sargalu. The heads of these two sheikh families were brothers, both married to women born in Sargalu. The sister-in-law of the one was married to the old sheikh at Shadala, lying in the valley between Chwarnaband and the mountain of Pira Magrun. I was told that it was difficult to obtain much information about this sect. Those who had joined it in the hope of learning something about it, had later not wished to divulge its character and the rites connected with it, which were surrounded by the greatest secrecy. My interpreter suggested that so far as she was aware these consisted of deviations from the general Islamic rules governing decency, but could or would not supply any further information about these mystics. 795

It can, however, be stated that it is not a matter of followers of *Ahl-i Haqq*, the People of the Divine Truth, known in western Iran as *Ali-Ilahi*, whose adherents in Kurdistan are called Kakai and are found particularly in the district of Kirkuk, but on the contrary of an offshoot of the Sufi dervish order Naqshbandi, Naqshbandiya, founded in Bokhara in the 14th century by Muhammad Baha-ud-Din or Baha-eddin, and brought to Kurdistan in the 18th century by Sheikh Maulana Khalid of the *Jaf* tribe. By him Kak Ahmad, grandfather of Sheikh Mahmud, was later introduced to the Sufi "way", which gradually penetrated deep into remote districts of Southern Kurdistan.

According to Gowan, a group of Naqshbandi followers formed under Hajji Sheikh *Arif* a secret society for the practice of sadism. The meeting place of the sect was the village mosque. In the basin of this building, intended for ritual ablution, men and women bathed together naked. Later they wandered together in the mountains. 795 391

According to Edmonds it was a certain Sheikh Abdul Karim of Shadala, near Sargalu, a relative of the Hajji Sheikh *Arif* above-mentioned, who was said to have resuscitated or founded the "way" called "Haqqa". This "way" was based on an ancient document "the Dance of the Mystics", and represented a radical deviation from the Islamic conventions laid down in the holy law, and the rules of duty. This "way" included transvestitism, bathing in common of men and women in the basin of the mosque, also in company with dogs, the wandering in the mountains of young men and women together, ceremonies where bowls of urine were passed from hand to hand by those present—in a 795 83j

795 831 word a mixture of indecency and perversion, violently opposed to Islam. For many years the Arab authorities were alarmed by rumours that the Haqqa sect among Kurds was increasing in influence and, centred on Sargalu, was penetrating into neighbouring regions despite the fact that the "teachers", and their "pupils", were repeatedly summoned to Sulaimani for interrogation.

It thus seems that under the influence of neo-platonic ideas the metaphysical speculations of Sufism have at times led to pantheism and doctrines contrary to Islamic law. This has exercised a certain influence on Kurds with whom I dwelt. It is a matter for a religious historian to enlarge upon. I merely point to its existence.

791 789 *Superstition and witchcraft.* Mention has already been made of features that can be traced back to superstition and sorcery: the sugar strewn over the bride's pieces of clothing before sewing (p. 126), the blow on the bride's head, the fowl released over her on her arrival at the bridal house (p. 130, 131), and the lump of honey laid in a piece of folded bread and then placed under the mattress on which she will sit on arrival (p. 130). The killing of a fowl on the death of a child has also been referred to (p. 142). I shall now discuss the use of amulets, both the visible and encased varieties, the importance attached to reproductions of the holy hand, visits to saints' graves, and finally, the existence of rag trees and rag poles among the Kurds, and the sacrifice of animals as a healing ceremony.

789 565 *Amulets.* In Southern Kurdistan these were to be found among women in the aristocratic village milieu, in the humble village milieu and in the uneducated urban milieu. They were not used within the educated urban milieu.

Amulets are supposed to protect against *jinn*, devils created by fire[24], and to avert the evil eye. 789 They were of two kinds: visible and encased. The first type consists of a kind of ornament and is therefore difficult to distinguish from jewellery without magical qualities. They could be purchased in the bazar and were thus a commercial commodity which in virtue of their colour, form and material contained a latent force that could protect their owners from all evil. In Kurdistan both dead objects and living beings could have these magic objects hung upon them.

301 789 [822] A chain of large blue glass-beads was hung around the neck of a horse (Serkan); a blue button was hung on a churning frame (Topzawa); and a blue button was fastened to a Singer sewing machine (Kirkuk). This was done to protect the animal, and the products made by the objects, from evil influence. It has often been pointed out that blue affords protection against the evil eye[25].

789 858 301 The same blue colour is found in the small articles to be worn by children. A necklet (E. 2287a), 0.25 m. long, for a baby is composed of black and white glass beads in which is hung a light-blue button and two small plastic reproductions of the holy hand[26], the one red and the other blue. In addition, buttons (E. 2287b-c) for sewing on children's clothes[27] and a scorpion (E. 2287d) made of light-blue glass beads, also intended for sewing on children's clothes. Finally, a silver chain is meant to be worn diagonally across the chest from the left shoulder[28]. The chain (E. 2301) was acquired in

Sulaimani, and is called: *[illegible]*. It is composed of 40 flower-shaped links of silver, and measures, 789
extended, 0.730 m. Inset between the links is a silver begging bowl. It is this begging bowl that Kurds 858
call *[illegible]*, from which the whole chain has apparently gained its name[29]. From the chain hang two 301
silver bells[30], two triangular amulet cases of silver[31], two small silver watering cans[32], and two oval pieces of reddish-yellow carnelian[33].

The women wore necklaces. Two such have been brought back; the one (E. 2290) is known as 789
[illegible], 1.10 m. long. Amidst the 45 glass beads a greyish-white, spherical, agate bead[34] has been
inserted to avert evil[35]. In addition, this necklace has hanging from it an amulet sewn up in material, 301
which will be discussed when reviewing later that type of charm. The other necklace (E. 2291) called *[illegible]*, length 1.46 m., comprises 38 elements consisting of beads of various colours and shapes, and two white snails shells. According to Donaldson[36] these are to avert evil. The necklace also possessed a large, cylindrical piece of moss agate[37] and an amulet sewn into a piece of brocade.

Among the amulet jewellery for women are temple ornaments intended for fastening to the turban among the coin chains (see ornaments). A set (E. 2294-2295) known as *gul* consists of two flat, oval, yellowish-red carnelians mounted in silver, greatest diam. 0.036 m., reported to possess the same power of averting evil as the carnelian in the child's necklace, and furnished with pendants of Iranian silver coins.

These decorative amulets are made by bazar craftsmen, and are worn either alone or mounted in [463]
necklaces. Their protective effect is due to their colour (blue), their shape (snail shells), their sound (bells), or their material (carnelian, moss agate or onyx).

Enclosed amulets. The other type of amulet is enclosed. The amulet itself (a piece of folded, written 789
paper) is concealed in a case. This may be made of coloured material[38] like brocade, velvet or cotton, having the shape of a square or triangular[39] package. It is sewn by the woman herself. This capsule can hang on a necklet worn by women[40]. (Cf. E. 2290 and E. 2291, the amulet packets of which measure 0.075 × 0.08 × 0.015 and 0.06 × 0.06 × 0.09 m., respectively). The capsule can be sewn on to a fez, be attached by a safety pin to the waistcoat or to a child's costume. Such small pouches of material were seen in Kurdistan hung up on an inside wall to protect the house. The pouch can also be of metal, either a flat, triangular amulet box[41] like that already referred to, hanging from a child's shoulder (E. 2301), or like a cylinder[42] worn hanging vertically from the woman's waistcoat or in her necklace. An example (E. 2292) known as *[illegible]*, is 0.092 m. in length and has been struck in a matrix. It has a number of Iranian coins attached as decoration[43]. The pouches for these concealed amulets are either made at home, when it is a matter of pouches made of material, or by craftsmen if they were of metal.

On the other hand the contents, the amulet itself was, so far as I could ascertain, made by itinerant sayyids (cf. p. 108). I was able to watch the manufacture of two of such amulets in the aristocratic village milieu. Two itinerant sayyids, recognizable by the green binding round their turbans, arrived one day at the house of the Sheikh of Topzawa. On that day the village was visited by four wandering descendants of the Prophet, who called at various houses, where they did not appear to be uniformly
welcome. 792

This category of itinerant holy men who is "preferably conspicuously clothed" appearing in villages 554
as "transients of rather low status", is referred to in the case of the Kurds by Barth, who states that 463

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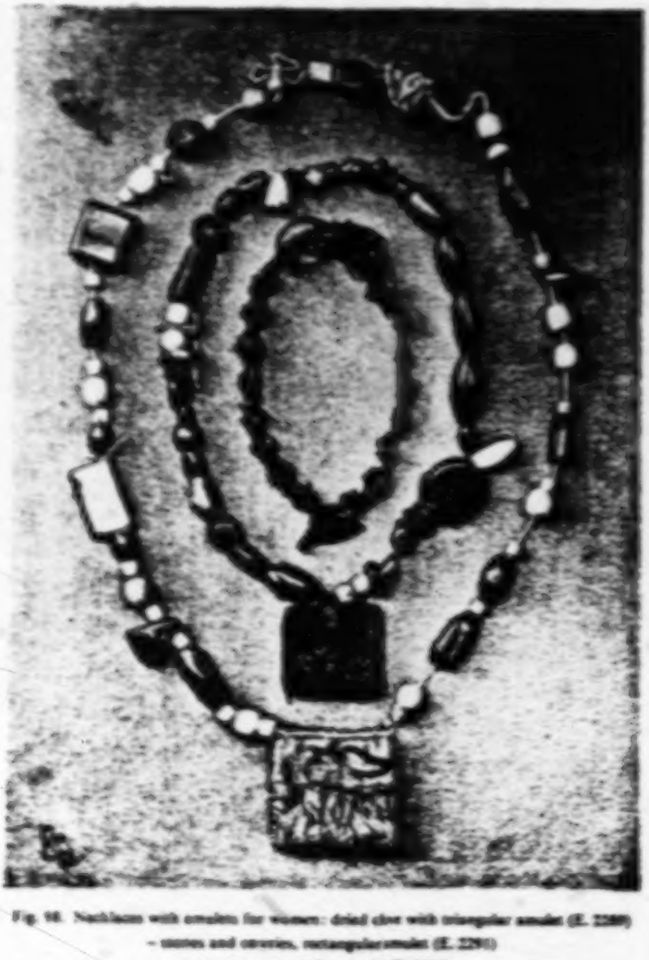

Fig. 98. Necklaces with amulets for women: dried clove with triangular amulet (E. 2289)
- stones and cowries, rectangular amulet (E. 2291)
- stones, rectangular amulet (E. 2290).

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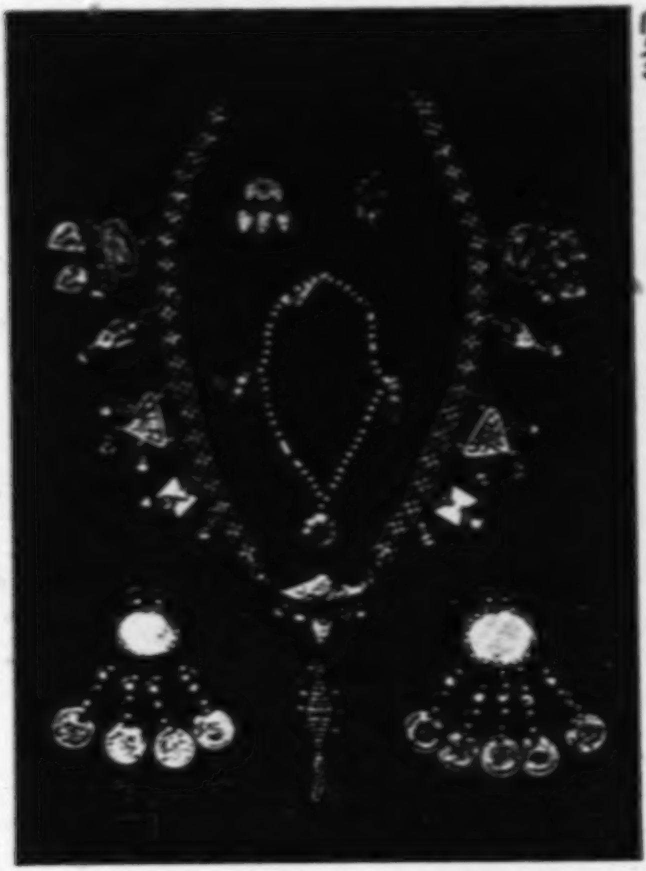

Fig. 99. Jewels protecting the child against the evil eye: shoulder- and chest chain with beggar's bowl (E. 2301) – chain of blue glass beads with small hands (E. 2287a) – blue button (E. 2287b) – scorpion of blue glass beads (E. 2287d) – crescent of gold (E. 2302). For the woman: temple ornaments (E. 2294-95).

992 they make "good-luck charms, love-charms, charms against sickness, etc."[44]. None of the grown-up
554 men of the house was home at the time. The sayyids were not received in the guest room of the house
in accordance with their status as strangers of a certain rank, that on exceptional occasions could
463 be done by the women when no men were at home. They came straight in to the family's courtyard, and were invited to sit in the three-walled central room where, rather reluctantly, a deal had been agreed upon—amulets in return for flour and sugar emptied into the beggars' bags that the sayyids carried over their shoulders. These persons appeared to rank with the sheikh's servants. No refreshment was offered them, only a single cigarette. They were not regarded as honoured guests of the house.

992 The amulets were made whilst we watched. The one sayyid placed beside him a bottle of ink, asked
789 the daughter of the house for two needles which he stuck in the sofa by the side of the ink bottle. He then produced from his dress an oblong piece of paper on which were drawn red lines, forming rec-
463 tangular panels. These were filled in with figures, possibly also with words, but I was unable to distinguish this from the distance away I had to stand. On another piece of paper he took out was drawn a sword. On the reverse side of this paper rectangular fields were made with red pencil strokes. These also were filled with figures. The paper was then folded into a triangular packet, the bottom corner being bent diagonally, and the paper was then folded together.

306 The needles were picked up from the sofa, broken in the middle, and stuck into the triangular paper
789 packet. The second piece of paper was also filled in with figures and then folded into a rectangular packet but without any iron content. When the amulets were handed over to the women they were laid in a little box in which already lay other amulets not yet enclosed in material. The box was kept in a coloured tin box with articles of clothing belonging to the lady of the house. I was not allowed to view the amulets whilst wearing my spectacles. Should I do so, I was told, they would lose their power to protect the person bearing them or the house on whose wall it was to hang.

Lane talks of the Arabs in Egypt with "written charms ... consisting of certain passages of the Kur'an and names of God"[45]. So far as I could determine without glasses and at the distance I was forced to keep, the amulets, the making of which I had witnessed, were figure charms. That iron is included in amulets, as in the case of the broken needles, is reported from Iran by Donaldson[46]. It did not appear that these amulets were made according to any formula. Amulet books are known from Afghanistan (E. 2193), and, referring to a Kurdish book of prophecies, Nikitine[47] reports that "... le même livre donne des spécimens pour les talismans utilisables dans tous les cas imaginables ...".

789 *Holy hand.* Feilberg[48] refers to the Lurs having a rod with a small carved wooden hand at the top, that was carried in the waistband of an old man who allowed it to pass from hand to hand of those present, whereupon it was kissed and then passed along the one cheek and then the other. A large wooden hand, wrapped round with a fluttering cloth of the holy green colour, was carried round in the village of Topzawa by one of the other four sayyids who were "working" the place at the same time. This man also tried later to visit the sheikh's house, but got no farther than the steps up to the loggia of the guest house, where the daughter of the house had just started to clean. As he entered

the door to the loggia he greeted her by reaching out the hand in question, which she kissed, laid it against her brow and passed it along both her cheeks. The name of the hand was not given me but it should be a reproduction of a "holy hand" in Baghdad. 789

Soothsaying. In addition to the production of amulets, traded for flour and sugar, the two sayyids had yet another thing for sale: their skill in soothsaying. Actually, this was the reason why they were allowed to tarry among the women of Sheikh Taifūr's house in Topzawa. When the two parties had come to terms, a greasy book, kept in a plastic case of the sacred green colour hanging from the waistband of the one, was taken out and opened. One of the women placed her hand on it and pointed to one of the pages. The younger of the two sayyids then gave his interpretation in a droning voice. 791 787

Fortune-telling of this kind with the Kurds is referred to by Nikitine[29], who says: "Les Kurdes aiment beaucoup dire la bonne aventure ("fâl"), et pour cela ils se servent d'un livre spécial en persane . . . on l'ouvre à l'aveuglette, on regarde la sentence qui s'y trouve la première et on consulte l'indication que porte en haut chaque page ("bien" ou "mal") . . .". A "prophecy" book of this type has been brought back from Afghanistan (E. 1273). In addition to this soothsaying with the help of a book opened at hazard, I also observed another form of fortune-telling. During my stay with the Sheikh at Sargalu, the house was visited by another wandering sayyid. Sitting on the floor, surrounded by women, he read their future by palmistry.

Visit to saints' graves. Kurdish women could visit saints' graves[30]. We visited a saint's grave outside Halabja. The saint's last resting place was in a small chapel where a grating cut off the grave itself and the carpet-hung superstructure from visitors. A basin with a spring, lying behind a wall outside the enclosure surrounding the chapel, allowed women to perform the ritual ablution necessary. One of the women that day was hindered on account of her *menses* (cf. p. 153) from entering the chapel and small plantation, which possessed a rag tree. Close to the saint's grave the women picked up small stones from the ground and attempted to make them stick to the wall at the side of the grating. It was said that if the stone remained sticking the wish one had would be granted, otherwise not. 769 778

Saints' graves were found in a part of a mosque in the mountain town of Tawella near to the Iranian frontier. The mosque there, described as a *takiya*[31], was apparently a Sufi religious house[32]. The superstructures over the saints' graves inside were like houses and were hung with silken rugs[33]. On the one was the turban of the deceased. A young girl kissed the turban[34] respectfully, and accepted some soil scraped together and handed her[35] by the *mulla* who accompanied us. Over that part of the building, the architecture of which evinced considerable Persian influence in the horseshoe arches, the saints' graves were housed under vaulted domes, each of which was surmounted by a hand with outstretched fingers. [197]

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778 *Rag trees, rag poles and sacrifices.* Two different religious survivals could be seen in Kurdistan: The one, a tree hung with rags standing outside the chapel-like building that housed the saint's grave outside Halabja. A similar type of rag tree adorned not only by rags but also by a ram's horn, with a holy hand set up beside it, stood inside the grating that protected a sacred grave. This lay in the middle of a newly-built section on the outskirts of Sulaimani. Gravestones sticking up here and there between houses showed that the quarter had been raised on what once had been a burial ground.

The other phenomenon: rods each of which bore a single rag like a flag. These rods were planted within a rampart at the burial ground at Topzawa; similar rods were placed within an earthworks at the burial ground of the twin village of Rakawa. No rags were hung on the branches of big trees in the burial ground. A group of rods with rags attached, also behind a low earthworks, marked a grave at the side of the Sulaimani-Chamchemal road in the vicinity of Sulaimani. (No rags on the trees near by.) It appeared to be a matter of two different phenomena: in the one case a tree with branches hung with rags; in the other, rods each bearing a single rag. These rods might be sited under large

Fig. 100. Tree hung with rags outside a saint's grave, Halabja. The women wearing aba and headveil.

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Fig. [illegible]. Rods with rags tied on, planted inside stone wall on the burial ground outside Rabrwa.

trees which bore no rags at all. Fraser[56] also distinguishes between these two cases when writing abou 778
"heaps of stones" in Kurdistan, which must correspond to Feilberg's[57] saints' graves in Lurista
the matter is also referred to by Bishop[58]. Fraser says: "Those who have benefited tear shreds fro
their shirts or trousers and tie them to the bushes around", but he also speaks of other graves of gre
men marked with "… a pole with a flag to point out the place to utter a prayer". Maunsell[59] als
distinguishes between the two things, but lets them be found at the same spot, saying: "… a lo
stonewall" (that surrounds a holy grave) "on which … green and white flags … On the branche
which overhang the shrine rags and scraps of clothing …". It was said concerning the grave wi [753]
the rag tree on the building site near Sulaimani, that it was pregnant women and sick persons wh
had become hale that hung up the rags as votive offerings. This agrees with Feilberg's[60] report tha [755]
the Lurs "envoie les femmes pour qu'elles deviennent fécondes …" to the holy graves.

Donaldson[61] refers to "desire giving trees", though without a grave, and goes on to say: "Perhap at one time a holy man, or a descendant of the Prophet, sat under such a tree … it came to be re-

978 around .... the credulous .... tie rags and strings to its branches, and at the same time they make a request and take a vow that they will perform some meritorious act if the request is granted."

In order that the promise shall not be rendered valueless, the rags must "[illegible]" is mentioned by Massé.

789 Concerning the custom of tying rags to the branches of trees in the vicinity of sheikhs' and saints'
978 graves, Nikitine writes: ".... tant qu'il reste attaché là, ce chiffon est garant des prières du saint", and approaches the idea, also verbally mentioned by Feilberg, that there may be a parallel between
[191] these hung-up rags and the waving wooden shavings of the Ainu, indeed, with the idea behind the praying wheels of the Mongols and other Lamaistic Buddhists.

There can be little doubt that the rag tree is an old heathen survival. This view is expressed by Massé, Ebbrup, Feilberg and Soane, Ebbrup, who has seen rag trees in the Taurus Mountains of Turkey, believes that in this custom we find crippled remnants of the ancient consecration ceremony that is still preserved in its entirety by a few Indian tribes.

955 The sacrifice of animals as a means of promoting health was referred to by my interpreter. She intended in due course to sacrifice a sheep in order that her 6 year old brother's broken and badly-set
982 leg might improve when she took him next to the doctor, possibly in Baghdad.

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[989]
[565]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Visible remains	●	●		●
[illegible] remains	●	●		●
Holy head	●	●		
Saints' graves			●	●
Rag tree	●			●
Rag poles	●			●

CONCLUSION

WOMAN'S POSITION IN THE COMMUNITY

As mentioned (p. 69) a number of male travellers have made statements about the position of Kurdish 562
women in society. With the exception of Fraser, who distinguishes between the urban upper class 114
and the village dwellers, Kurdish women are referred to under one heading. However, even from the 565
limited material available to me, it is evident that there are at all events four different environments, each with its own pattern (and this division ignores the nomads). Soane emphasizes that Kurdish women are "... as free as in any European country", and Rambout declares that "... la femme est considérée chez les Kurdes comme l'égale de l'homme". Even though in the case of the Kurds we must consider ourselves faced by a variant of the Islamic cultural pattern less orthodox than in other Muslim areas, I would point out the risk of using the terms "free position" and "equality" as understood in the West when attempting an assessment of the position of Islamic, and in this case Kurdish, women. Freedom and equality are concepts that must be viewed on the background of the position of Western women when their struggle for changed conditions was in progress at the end of the previous century. These terms bear no relation to the status of Kurdish women at present.

In an attempt to explain the Kurdish woman's position in the community I shall now deal with 121
the various forms of veil and the use made of them, contact with the world around, woman's possibility 562
of movement, and the degree of seclusion. I shall discuss also the distribution of authority between man and woman in the home, and, finally, the degree of common life in the home. These elements will be investigated within the four female environments existing within the area visited in Southern Kurdistan.

ANALYSIS OF VEIL TYPES

The veil. Five different types of veils, each with its function, but differently distributed in the four 293
female environments, were found to be in use. These were as follows: The triangular neck-shoulder 562
veil, *dasmal*, the head veil, *abrešil*, the yellow ochre "bridal" veil, the white European bridal veil, and the black face veil, *pêčê*.

The first type, really a shoulder cloth fastened by means of a loop to a snip sewn onto the crown of the cap, is included among the veils because its material, crepe silk, interwoven with metal thread, of a green, rose or light-blue colour entitles it to be called a veil, and because its function was to hide the neck and pigtails of the married woman. It was an indispensable constituent of a married Kurdish woman's dress worn in its complete form. The neck-shoulder veil presupposed the presence of a cap, but not necessarily the use of a turban. At Halabja, for example, it was worn with a coin-covered cap or

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[184] without a turban. At night it was removed with the cap. The neck-shoulder veil was worn by all married women in the three of the four female environments. On the other hand it had lost its position in the dress of the educated urban women, whether she was wearing a European dress or the most modern town-style Kurdish costume.

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[354] *The head veil* of light material, gauze or voile was, in the case of a married woman, laid over the cap and turban as an extra. During prayer it was tied around the neck and head. Tied round at night in the same way, it replaced all other head covering. For an unmarried girl it was her sole headgear day and night. A 12 year old girl, the step-daughter in the sheikh's house at Topzawa, put on the veil as an experiment, which suggested that her age would shortly make it necessary for her to begin to wear it. This is the head cloth or veil to which Lane refers in regard to the Arabs in Egypt[1]. Within the village aristocracy it was mainly white. The humble village women in Topzawa and Rahawa favoured white or turquoise whilst old women wore black, joining the two upper corners together by a knot at the neck, having crossed them under the chin, so that the veil lay around the head like a hood. Certain villages were characterized by head veils of uniform colour: in the new flooded ferry hamlet of Mirza Rustam all wore black and in Sargalu bright red.

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562 In the two urban milieus the women of the house never went up the ladder to the roof at sundown to arrange the bedding without the head veil, or a piece of material that resembled it, over the head; this applied to both adults and adolescents and even if the young and educated were wearing European summer dresses. Although my interpreter belonged to the educated urban milieu, she could not enter the guest room in her own home to greet Kurdish visitors who had come to talk to me, or bring a guest tea, without this head veil around head and neck. In the family circle and women's apartments women covered themselves with the head veil if a man entered. An educated teacher grabbed a chance head veil, covering herself with it at great speed when a man, newly-married into the family, came into the room. Although he was married to a half-sister of the young woman's brother's wife he must not see her head uncovered. Even in the village of Serkan my interpreter picked up the first veil she saw and threw it over her head when the master of the house, the old sheikh, came in to bid us welcome. Visiting her home a week after the wedding, a young educated woman wore a head veil in her father's presence (see p. 133). When her brother-in-law paid a first visit to her own home she also retained the head veil, although on that occasion she was wearing a short-skirted, armless European summer frock. The uneducated town women wore the head veil day and night.

369 The head veil was thus a general feature in the two female village environments and in the uneducated urban milieu. The veil was used sporadically in the educated urban milieu when a man's presence made this necessary, whether or not the woman was wearing Kurdish costume. European dress, it is true, revealed her legs to the knees and her arms to the shoulders, but the head still had to be covered.

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562 *The yellow-ochre "bridal" veil* I saw worn on two occasions, both in a humble village milieu, when witnessing the arrival of the bride at the bridal house, in the one case walking the last stretch (Topzawa) and in the other riding on a white mare (Rahawa). The veil was so placed, over the married woman's

turban, that it covered head, neck, and face, though the features could be discerned through it. On 293
this occasion it replaced the white or coloured Ilad veil[5]. Nikitine refers to the use of this reddish- 562
yellow veil cast over the head of a Kurdish bride, remarking about the colour: "Le visage de la fiancée est couvert avec une mouchoir rouge pour que .... les jours de sa vie familiale qui commencera soient rouges (c'est-à-dire heureux)"[6]. Although this yellow-ochre veil covers the face, as is also the case with the black face veil (which will be dealt with later), it must not be viewed in conjunction with it. It is a Kurdish variant of the bridal veiling, referred to in respect of Egyptian Arabs by Lane in the middle of the previous century, where, during the procession to the house, the bride, sitting under a rose or yellow-coloured canopy, is covered by a red Cashmere shawl[7], thus clothed quite differently from the accompanying women in their black, silk coverings and white face veils that reach up to, but do not cover, the eyes.

A similar bridal covering is mentioned by Granqvist in the case of Palestinian Arabs[8]. The veil 293
is described as a thick woollen cloth, similar to the ordinary sack, thrown over the bride's head, hiding 171
the face, while a caftan hides the rest of the figure. I had no opportunity of discovering whether the ochre-coloured veil was used in the other feminine milieus.

The white European bridal veil. The existence of the short, transparent red-ochre "bridal" veil, used 585
in the humble village milieu, explains perhaps why the short white Western bridal veil could be adopted 293
into the Kurdish dress scheme. When I saw the white bridal veil in use within the mixed educated 171
and uneducated urban milieu (in Sulaimani), all the other women in the marrying care were closely veiled in black. The difference between the white bride and the other women corresponds to the difference described by Lane between the Egyptian Arab bride and the women in her train[9].

The white bridal veil lacks the red colour of happiness, but the fact that the bride's veil is decorated with ribbons of rose silk tied across it and a rose silk cover is sufficient to atone for this defect. The Kurdish white bride stood out from the rest of Kurdish female dress. However, this is perhaps less a breach of tradition than it appears at first sight, for, apart from the colour the white bridal veil seen in Sulaimani, although it seems incompatible with the close veiling otherwise practised in town, gives the bride an appearance which seems in accord with the village traditions.

The black face veil has been taken over from the Turks. It is the Turkish-Kurdish variant of the 293
woman's veil that has been, and in many places still is, worn outside the home in Islamic areas from 562
Morocco in the west to Afghanistan in the east, from Bosnia and Herzegovina in the north to Aden 171
in the south. In Kurdistan the veil is never worn without an appurtenant over-garment, the Arab abā 291
worn as a cowl; I mention this because in Bosnia in 1938 the same Turkish face veil was seen worn alone with a European coat and skirt. In Baghdad, on the other hand the over-garment was worn, but not the veil. By the irony of fate the veil—originally the sign of an honest woman as opposed to a harlot—is now reserved to prostitutes, who are recognized by it[10].

Sura 24, verses 30-31[11] of the Coran are usually considered to form the religious basis for the CC G

534 [591] 293 562 Sure 24, verses 30-31 of the Coran are mainly considered to form the religious basis for the complete veiling practised by Muslim women, supplemented by the recommendation, contained in Sure 33, verse 59, that the wives and daughters of the Faithful put on an over-garment when leaving the home in order that they shall be recognized as honest women. Sure 24, verses 30-31 runs: ("Say to the believing men that they cast down their looks and guard their private parts; that is purer for them; surely *Allāh* is aware of what they do. And say to the believing women that they cast down their looks and guard their private parts and not display their ornaments except what appears thereof, and let them wear their head-coverings over their bosoms, and not display their ornaments except to their husbands, or their fathers, or the fathers of their husbands, or their sons, or the sons of their husbands, or their brothers, or their brothers' sons, or their sisters' sons, or their women, or those whom their right hands possess, or the male servants not having need (of women), or the children who have not attained knowledge of what is hidden of women; and let them not strike their feet so that what they hide of their ornaments may be known; and turn to *Allāh* all of you, O believers! so that you may be successful"[illegible].

293 [562] 572 177 It is maintained that the veiling of women was originally foreign to the Arabs and the prophet Muhammed[illegible], having been adopted by Islam after the prophet's death in 632 during the years of expansion in Syria and Mesopotamia. Here contact was made with the Hellenic-Byzantine empire where women led a secluded life, a custom preserved from ancient Greece. The veil was adopted as a mark of respectability as opposed to barbary, and veiling was further extended, justifying this by reference to the two mentioned Sures of the Coran. By obtaining religious backing the veil and shawl or cowl, though varying somewhat in the different Islamic areas, became something quite different from any other clothing. It became a symbol of a religious idea and of a definite pattern of behaviour. By its anonymity, it gave women a liberty that no other dress could provide. It aroused a respect that can only be compared with that shown to a nun's habit. Unknown and unrecognizable, she in that dress represented something inviolate and protected. No man could demand to see the face hidden by the veil. Unseen, she was not only herself but also represented half the community, and in virtue of this she could demand consideration and the maintenance of certain privileges. She herself was able to see the one to whom she was speaking, but the reverse was not the case. Woodsmall[illegible] quotes various statements made by women who had been accustomed to wear, or still wore, the veil. An Islamic woman from Alexandria says: "A veil .... presents strange paradoxes. It is a restrictive emphasis on sex relationship, and also on moral protection; a sign of utter dependence and also of freedom from responsibility; a handicap to real progress and a symbol of special privilege. In a word the veil represents an entirely different social system. Discarding it, therefore, involves a whole change [178] of psychology impossible for a Western woman to understand .... so entirely foreign to you and so much a part of us ....".

562 293 565 484 Over-garment and veil were in use in all four feminine environments in Southern Kurdistan, but to very different extents. The women of the village aristocracy did not wear them in daily life, but only when visiting a town (see p. [illegible]). They then wore them from the moment of leaving home until they returned. For the women it was thus a sign that they were leaving a village milieu to enter an urban environment. The same applied to women of the humble village milieu. "Many times in the city of Sulaimani I have been addressed by closely-veiled women, who, when they raised the veil, proved to

by residents of Topzawa, where I never saw them veiled. Nor did I ever observe them using the head 562
cloth or the sleeves of the costume to cover the face, even if there were male strangers in the vicinity, 293
which Granqvist mentions as being a part of women's pattern of behaviour in Palestine[illegible]. 565

On the other hand for both the educated and uneducated in the town the over-garment and veil 484
was an indispensable part of women's dress outside the home. It was unthinkable that any woman
in a town like Sulaimani or the smaller trading centre, Halabja, could leave the home, shut off completely
from the street, without taking with them its seclusion in the form of the abā-u-pūsh. These
two articles of clothing were obligatory for every girl from the age of 13-14. One of the adolescent [882]
daughters in the home of my interpreter had reached this age without it being realised until her father
caught sight of her one day, when, clad in a far too tight, washed-out and very dowdy European
summer dress, she was about to disappear through the street door, and at once sent one of the women
in the house to the city to buy the necessary abā and veil. The following day the girl had vanished
forever from the town's street scene and an anonymous female figure appeared instead. Women of
both the educated and uneducated urban milieu upheld the town practice of concealment when visiting
villages. A sister of Sheikh Taifūr of Topzawa, a woman in her fifties, paid a long visit to her brother.
She clad herself in abā and veil in order to walk from Topzawa to another village in the neighbourhood.
As nobody in this covering ever carried any burden, she was accompanied on this occasion
by an 8 year old daughter of the house who walked behind her on the mountain track carrying a
bundle containing gifts. On the day I engaged her, my interpreter arrived at Topzawa closely veiled. [992]
She also brought with her by mule over the Chermaband pass her black over-garment, and managed
in some remarkable way to get this around her as, in the dusk, with a flock of sheep streaming past
the legs of our riding animals like a dark flood, we entered the small village of Sargalu nestling in a
valley behind the mountains. She also sent her 13 year old brother, her invariable companion, back to
to the Sheikh's house at Topzawa to fetch her over-garment and veil when, returning from a visit
to the neighbouring village of Rakawa, we discovered that in our absence male guests had been received
on the loggia of the guest house. Apart from that she did not wear abā and veil after the first day in
the village. Town women thus took with them and used on isolated occasions in the villages the veil
and over-garment worn in an urban milieu.

Distribution of veil types inside the four milieus.

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Veil types	Village aristocracy		Peasant village		Educated urban		Uneducated urban	
	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married
Triangular neck + shoulder veil tails		+		+		(+)		+
Head cloth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Colour bridal veil		?		+				?
European white bridal veil						+		
Face veil black	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+

WOMAN'S POSSIBILLITY OF MOVEMENT AND SECLUSION

562 584 591 565 *Possibility of movement or greater or lesser degree of seclusion.* In the village aristocracy both the married and unmarried women left the area of the home but seldom. As an exception they could be the most distinguished guests at a village wedding. Here they remained in the women's group, strictly segregated from the men. There was no family in the village of equal birth on which they could pay calls. In this respect the women of the village aristocracy held a position similar to that of a lady of a royal family. Their domain comprised the rooms off the courtyard in which the house-work was performed and the roof. They could enter the guest house in order to clean, and could receive female guests there when the men were absent. Their area also extended to the kitchen garden and orchard if such existed in the neighbourhood of the home. On one occasion in Topzawa the wife and daughter in the sheikh's house extended their radius of action to the vineyard up in the mountains in order to pluck fresh vine leaves for culinary purposes. The wife of the house, but not the daughter, went on a family visit to Sulaimani. Both women, with the sheikh and his brother, paid a call, by car, on an Iraqi engineer working with European colleagues on the Dokan Dam Site. This man lived in a stone house similar to those inhabited by Europeans. During the visit the women remained by themselves in the bedroom of the house, which that day acted as the harem, the women eating, drinking tea, and sleeping there in the afternoon.

562 [123] In the village of Serkan the lady of the house and the wives of the sons received my interpreter and me in the newly-built, detached guest house, which that day had been left to the women as a reception room. At the same time the men of the house were holding a meeting with the government representative of the Land Settlement Commission and a large number of peasants. For this male meeting a temporary open-air guest house had been arranged under some high trees near a spring behind the sheikh's property. Here the men took their meals, conducted their negotiations and spent the night on mattresses rolled out on the ground. During the morning, the representative of the Land Settlement Commission approached the women's apartments in order that I, as a European, could be introduced to his assistants. At the sight of this elderly man entering the women's apartments, the wife and daughters-in-law of the house sprang to their feet and fled as though for an outbreak of fire, assisted by a young husband present, over a narrow passage into a small store room. Similarly, although it had been decided, the lady of the house later cancelled a planned tour of the garden on the ground that there was a faint possibility of the men's party above mentioned being able to catch a glimpse of her face.

584 562 A proposal that the daughter of the sheikh at Topzawa should accompany my interpreter, her 13 year old brother and me in a hired car and later cross the mountains by mule on a two-day visit to her own paternal uncle at Sargalu, was bluntly refused by the girl's father. The escort proposed was not considered adequate. Thus what we understand by seclusion was practised within the village aristocracy. Married women seldom left their homes, young girls practically never, and none of them must allow themselves to be seen by male strangers.

362 592 554 565 In the meantime the following categories of men were permitted access to the family house within the village aristocracy: Firstly, and naturally, the men of the family, the husband, brother-in-law,

and sons. Secondly, distant relatives of the married couples. In addition the family's courtyard and 562
three-walled central room were open to men who were subordinates of the sheikh, economically 554
dependent on him, or of a status that could be compared with this. In Topzawa this included the peasants who ploughed and harvested the sheikh's fields and the drivers who drove the lorries he and his 565
brother had in their capacity of contractors for the construction work at Dokan Dam. The house 369
was also open to beggars and to sayyids. The sheikh families at Sergalu and Serkan had both men and women servants. With the latter family there lived permanently a blind mulla[76], who occupied the women's part of the house and who, it is true, ate with the women of the house but he was paid by the sheikh and was thus a dependent. Men from the Gendarmerie, members of the Land Settlement Commission, and Europeans were not admitted to the family house where women were. These men [609]
were strangers by whom the women must not be seen. It can therefore be said that though seclusion is practised by the village aristocracy, it is in so elastic form that allowed definite categories of men, dependants in one way or another, access to the women's domain. This elasticity may help to explain the fact that Soane, disguised as a Persian merchant, and later, after the first World War, the British officers of the Mandate period, could be received by Halabja's first lady, Lady Adela, who after Osman Pasha's death became the head of the family. That she regarded Soane, who took employment with her son and of whose nationality she was unaware, as a subordinate there is no doubt. If she also considered the British officers as subordinate compared with her own position as representative of the town's most distinguished family, she would not by meeting them sacrifice any of her dignity or step outside the framework of her seclusion.

My impression was that, in the aristocratic village milieu, seclusion was not so much the result of 562
an order from the men as a wish on the part of the women not to be seen by male strangers. 369

The elastic seclusion practised among the Kurds seemed to me to be far more like the British idea 609
of "my home is my castle" than a form of incarceration. In consequence I do not believe that a male investigator is correct when writing that among the Kurds he visited in the Rowanduz district "... the Aghas consistently make a show of being very strict about the seclusion and veiling of their womenfolk when strangers are present while commoners, if they bother at all, are lax and casual"[77]. In my view it was the women themselves who felt the value of hindering male strangers from seeing them.

In support of this there is what a woman like Blackman says about conditions among the Egyptian 191
fellahin: "To our western ideas such restrictions are apt to be regarded as a form of tyranny, but it 567
is not a fair judgement. Seclusion is partly a sign of respect .... and indicates the value that the men 114
put upon their womenfolk"[78]. As a result it is naturally in women's own interest to maintain seclusion. Incidentally, Lane reports of the Arab women in Egypt: "Still it might be imagined that the women of the higher and middle classes feel themselves severely oppressed, and are much discontented with the state of seclusion to which they are subjected; but this is not commonly the case; on the contrary, an Egyptian wife who is attached to her husband is apt to think, if he allows her unusual liberty, that he neglects her, and does not sufficiently love her, and to envy those wives who are kept and watched with greater strictness."[79] Barnes states something similar about conditions in India: "The Mahommedan ladies of South India are very strictly secluded, and are proud of it. They look upon it as a mark of respectful care, and are very contemptuous of women who are not taken care of in the same

171 way"[20]. As early as 1891 Garnett remarks that: "The seclusion of Moslem women, instead of being,
562 as is generally assumed, a result of their "degraded position", is, on the contrary the outcome of the
114 great respect and regard entertained for them by the men of their own nation."[21]

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462 In the humble village milieu the activities of women: fetching water, participation in ploughing and
harvesting and, sometimes, in the building of clay houses, the collection of manure and fuel, etc.,
brought them outside the area of their homes. Even in an elastic form the maintenance of seclusion
was thus manifestly impossible, but it is worth noticing that no village woman from the twin villages
of Topzawa and Rakawa, from which the Dokan Dam drew its Kurdish labourers, could be persuaded
[359] to take work as house assistants or nurses with the European families. Any sum would have been paid
to obtain female help in these homes, but the Europeans had to be content with male servants.

A young British engineer who was taking a film in the two villages mentioned in order to provide local colour for another, larger film about the dam building, had no chance at all of taking the interior of the family home or the women in the sheikh's courtyard. Despite the elasticity of the seclusion obtaining within the village aristocracy, access for him was ruled out. He could only film the exteriors of village houses with peasant women on their way to and from their outdoor occupations. It was worthy of note that none of these women ever stopped or opened a conversation with him. As Woodsmall[22] says: "... although technically, unveiled the peasant woman in the Moslem world has very definitely the psychology of the veil". One single peasant home was opened to the young Englishman. The husband here did not work on the actual dam building, but in the office of the Dokan Dam Site, where he brewed tea and served it to Europeans all day long. In this way he had far more contact with the European milieu than his compatriots, and the fact that he allowed access to his home for the taking of a film must be viewed in that light.

562 To sum up the conditions among humble peasant women: Neither over-garment nor veil is worn.
For practical reasons there was no possibility of maintaining seclusion. Village women's radius of
369 action was not confined to the home, but comprised fields, watering places, workshops and fruit
plantations. In consequence they possessed far greater freedom of movement than did their more
565 aristocratic sisters. However, although technically unveiled and not subject to seclusion, a division
between the men's and women's worlds is maintained outside the actual work; one never saw social
contact between the two groups. At weddings men and women did not consort. They ate apart, and
at those I witnessed the women took no part in the dancing. The men in the village danced several
evenings running, the women hidden in the darkness, watching them from roofs in the vicinity.

562 As opposed to the village milieu, the women of the educated urban milieu have a school training
behind them. In virtue of this they are able to enter the only two occupations open to Moslem women
463 in Kurdistan: nursing or teaching. Through the former, whether at the Child Welfare Centre or as a
visiting nurse calling at the various homes, the educated woman in Sulaimani obtained a freedom of
[875] movement comparable to that enjoyed by humble village women. The same applied to those who
elected for the teaching profession and worked at Sulaimani's only girl school, the Golsha School
for Girls, established in 1936.

As regards being restricted geographically there was no seclusion for educated urban women, 562
though in its "transportable" form seclusion existed, for the wearing of over-garment and veil was 369
obligatory. Just as the geographical form of seclusion applying to the women of the village aristocracy
was elastic, certain categories of males outside the immediate family circle being admitted to the
women's domain, so also was the "transportable" seclusion, for the degree of veiling depended upon
the man meeting the woman. If the man was a stranger, say the post-office clerk, bank teller, or bus 562
driver, complete veiling was maintained. The men on their side accepted it as perfectly natural that 293
women whom they served or bargained with were completely anonymous and, apart from the voice, 574
unidentifiable. Before superiors, for example the educational authorities or officials like the mayor of
the town, my interpreter pushed back her veil though at the same time holding the front edges of
the over-garment which goes over the head, so closely together that only a small part of her face was [576]
visible. This was the case on more official visits, but also on ordinary visits the tightly-drawn *abā* and
the pushed-back veil were retained. This I saw on a visit to Sheikh Mahmud's son. On this occasion
my interpreter had decked herself out in all the finest articles of clothing and jewellery the women of
her family could together produce. During the visit not the slightest glimpse of all this magnificence
was disclosed. Perhaps this was due to the fact that, in addition to us, two male agricultural experts
were present, who seemed to have come to discuss questions in connexion with the rice harvest that year. [565]

When dealing with traders in the *sūq*, for example in the cloth booths in the vaulted arcades, the
women also pushed back their veils. Here they apparently faced men in a position subordinate to
them, and could allow themselves to show a small expanse of face through the closely-held *abā*.

In the Sulaimani cinemas, both the roofed and the roofless, it would have been quite unthinkable 571
for the women, even though closely veiled, to sit in the ordinary seats. The men sat there. For the 562
women and the men of their family who accompanied them there were boxes with special entrances
and a curtain. This curtain was not drawn aside until the theatre was dark, and was again drawn at 546
the interval. Men in the audience must not obtain a glimpse of the women in the box.

In her outside life and during work the educated urban woman came into contact with the men's 584
world. Sympathy between two young people might be aroused and a marriage based on personal
contact and sentiment could result. However, there was no direct proposal on the part of the young 562
man. The obligatory procedure was marriage negotiations between the women of the two families,
followed by the matter being placed before the father for decision (see p. 119). Whereas the work of
an educated urban woman provided her with a radius of action far outside the boundaries of the home,
in non-working hours she was to be found in the precincts of the home. In leisure hours there were 517
no mixed groups of men and women. Men, on the other hand, spent their free time in the streets or 562
in tea houses in company with other men. Here again there was a strict division between the worlds
of men and women.

Thus, like her humble village sister, the educated urban woman possessed a freedom of movement 369
that extended just as far as, but no further than, her work outside the home justified, but, as opposed 562
to the village woman, the educated urban woman practised a transportable seclusion in the form of
abā and veil. This, like the seclusion of the aristocratic village woman, possessed a certain elasticity
in regard to certain male categories.

562 In none of the three female environments so far considered was the idea of liberty understood in
the same way as it is in the West.

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562 In the fourth and last female environment, the uneducated urban milieu, the veiling was obligatory.
369 As opposed to their educated sisters the uneducated also maintained seclusion. Nothing in their daily
501 activities brought them into contact with the man's world. Household purchases were attended to by
the husband. I was also told that goods connected with dress were hawked from house to house by
women. However, women's sealed-off world was not confined to the home, for all women's apart-
[594] ments in the town were in contact with each other. A stream of female visitors entered the home, the
women of which frequently visited other houses. Under cover of transportable seclusion there was
considerable freedom within the urban woman's world. In consequence, uneducated women in towns
obtained an opportunity of contact that lay on a quite different social plane from that applying
to the three other feminine milieus. Among humble village women the same possibility naturally
applied. Here, however, it took place just as much at watering and washing places, etc., less in the
homes. In the uneducated feminine milieu in Kurdistan, subjected to the veil and seclusion, a decisive
barrier existed between the men's and women's worlds, not only in leisure but also in working hours.

591 For a man married to one or two wives in the uneducated women's milieu in a town like Sulaimani,
595 one found what Østrup[23] describes as typical of a Turkish home: "for an Oriental his house is the
place where his wife and children are, and where he eats his meals and spends the night … his real
home is either his shop or his favourite café, where he meets the people whose company constitutes
his spiritual content …".

562 In the uneducated feminine environment in Sulaimani as represented by my interpreter's home,
252 with its two wives whose sphere of work fell within the framework of the home, the actual place of
work could, exceptionally, be moved to the female area of another home. When baking a larger
supply of bread, the dough for which was prepared by an outside woman who arrived at dawn, the
two housewives later in the morning transferred the actual operation to the house of a neighbour.
Here there was a sunken, jar-shaped clay oven that could be used by several women simultaneously.
This was more effective than the convex iron sheet laid over the fire that sufficed for daily needs.

562 Visits and return visits constituted the social contact with the outside world. In my experience the
574 educated women in the house only made purchases in the *sūq* and then only of material, never, of
443 meat and vegetables. As mentioned, the daily household purchases were made by the husband and
delivered by small boys, of whom there were swarms, who in this way contributed towards their keep.
That women did not shop at the meat and vegetable stalls was not considered as any form of oppression,
in fact my impression was precisely the same as Woodsmall's, who writes: "… as a rule the conser-
vative Moslem woman in the past did not do her own shopping … For the women of the past, their
lack of freedom for personal shopping was doubtless not regarded as an infringement on their liberty
but a convenience"[24].

562 An investigation as to which men beyond the immediate family [illegible] access to the homes of
463 uneducated urban women disclosed that certain traders or artisans were admitted. A half-blind up-

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holsterer, who had to make some mattresses and pillows on the occasion of the wedding, arrived one morning at my interpreter's home. He hung up in the courtyard his carding bow[25] with which he would thoroughly beat the cotton, converting the thick grey lumps into white, airy batting. Later in the afternoon this home-treated cotton was put into the cases made by the women and the upholsterer then completed the sewing. This work, which took a whole day, was done in the women's section of the house. The upholsterer left twice during the day to have his meals in the town.

Very occasionally a bazar tailor, an old man, was admitted to the house to measure me for a quilted caftan. Certain goods, such as rugs, etc., were brought by traders to be viewed. However, these men never entered the women's precincts, never getting further than the front door, and when going out to see them the women tied a head cloth tightly round head and neck. The same thing happened when a man with three donkeys came up the three steps of the house into the tiled hall to unload the supply of wheat for the coming winter. This was brought in large, woven panniers sewn together, and was unloaded behind the sofa in the hall. I never saw the two wives in my interpreter's home go to a cinema. During *qurban bairam*, on the day devoted to family visits, they accompanied their common husband or went visiting alone.

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No part of their daily activities brought them outside the home or into contact with the men's world. Their contacts with the women's world in the town were on the other hand unlimited. This fourth feminine environment thus maintained complete seclusion, that is to say there existed what our Western world misleadingly calls a position of bondage.

COMMON DOMESTIC LIFE

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The distribution of authority and man's position in the home. The family's economy among the village aristocracy was naturally attended to by the man. It was also he who decided whether or not a 18 year old son could go on a family visit from Topzawa to Kirkuk or Baghdad. Equally, it obviously rested with the Sheikh of Topzawa to say whether or not he would accept me, my interpreter and her young brother as paying guests.

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Like all rural women, the women of the village aristocracy were completely illiterate, whereas their husbands and sons had been able to acquire at all events some book learning. Despite lack of schooling a woman could be extremely intelligent. This was evinced by the way she arranged her complicated daily tasks and ran the house, children, and husband. Besides, she knew her job, was highly qualified domestically, trained as housewife and mother from an early age. Within the home she was certainly man's equal. The family rooms were her domain where the husband was accepted and shown his natural place. In the cases where the wife's intelligence was greater than the husband's, it is a moot point whether the man could be said to possess an equal status in the home. Hay suggests as much when writing about conditions in Southern Kurdistan: "Most chiefs are to a greater or less extent under the thumbs of their womenfolk."[26]

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In regard to freedom, that Western concept into which attempts are made to adapt features of an utterly different social pattern like the Islamic, it can be said the women of the village aristocracy were

562 592 not "free", being subjected to an elastically-practised seclusion. Nor were they free to choose their spouse, but for that matter the men were here in no better case: both were subject to the decision of the family.

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565 562 462 As mentioned earlier, women's radius of action in the humble village milieu extended over the whole place, and consequently they had far greater freedom of movement than their aristocratic village sisters. On the other hand, so far as I could see, they were not so much the equals of their husbands as were their social superiors. Very heavy labours rested on their shoulders, work that kept them engaged from dawn until late in the evening: fetching water and fuel from afar, milking in the mountains, ploughing and harvesting, work in the fruit plantations. Within this environment one can say that there was a lack of equality and a distribution of authority in favour of the man, mainly because the uneven sharing of the work put the woman in an inferior position.

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562 369 In regard to the educated urban milieu in homes where both husband and wife were educated, a freedom of movement corresponding to that of humble village women existed in the case of the wife, that is to say as much as, but no more than, her work outside the home necessitated.

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562 369 592 Within the uneducated urban milieu there was no possibility of movement outside the home in connexion with work, and liberty of movement resulting from social activities, and the dayly visits between women, was concealed by veil and over-garment. Within the home the husband had the say in regard to the persons entering and leaving the house. In my interpreter's home where the two wives belonged to the uneducated milieu, the husband forbad the summoning of a doctor during the influenza epidemic in the summer of 1957, and refused to allow several patients in the family being taken by cab to a doctor or hospital. It is difficult to say how strictly this injunction would have been respected had one of the patients been seriously ill.

574 593 562 During *qurbân bairâm* the husband permitted his younger wife, accompanied by an adult stepson, two of the adolescent daughters and a baby, to pay a family visit to Halabja. The wife extended the visit by several days on her own initiative, the party proceeding with a hired car to another branch of the family. On the wife's return she was violently reproached for this by her husband. How weak a husband's position can be in a polygamous home with adult daughters was on this occasion demonstrated. Faced by a united feminine front of two wives and five daughters, and the visible and invisible aid from neighbouring homes, he was forced to beat an unconditional retreat. As Gautier says about conditions in a Muslim home of this kind: "L'homme a contre soi toutes les femmes de son harem, et toutes celles des harems voisins, et toutes celles de la ville ... coalition silencieuse, souriante et implacable", and goes on to say: "... Cet affreux tyran, le maitre du harem, armé du pouvoir absolu et des droits les plus revoltants, c'est probablement le mari le plus trompé qui soit au monde ..."[27]. As I saw it, a woman belonging to the uneducated urban milieu, continually in contact with neighbouring women, was in a remarkably strong position, and the husband, despite his right of decision in many respects, in a correspondingly weaker one. On the other hand, when employing Western terminology, we must describe her seclusion as a manifestation of a state of bondage.

THE MAN'S POSITION IN THE HOUSE

The man's place in the home. The man's place in the home must be viewed in conjunction with the distribution of authority between men and women. 562 592

Within the village aristocracy the guest house was the man's particular domain. In addition, his radius of action was the world outside the home. He moved about the village, inspected his fields, paid visits to other villages and travelled to Baghdad, Kirkuk or Sulaimani on business and pleasure. His freedom of movement was limited only by time, urge, and economic circumstances. At the same time he was a semi-partner in the life lived in the family section of the house. (This to us seems a matter of course, but it had no parallel in any of the other three milieus.) He not only ate and slept in the home, but also spent some hours of the day in the family circle. During the time I witnessed daily life in the Sheikh's home at Topzawa, I noticed that relations between husband and wives were warm, lively, and pleasant. The presence of two female strangers, my interpreter and I, passed off easily and naturally. Male relatives arriving on longer or shorter visits also joined the family life, and a common life existed in the other homes of the village aristocracy that I visited.

In the humble village milieu, on the other hand, the man spent his leisure hours with the other men of the village in the tea house or chatted with groups in the village booth. Village men danced alone some evenings before a wedding in order to utilize some musicians who had arrived. In the village milieu there were far greater possibilities for a male group life than obtained for the village aristocracy, and consequently the division between the worlds of men and women—so characteristic of Muslim areas—was encountered. 562 369 517 565

At first sight a common life within the home was to be expected in the educated urban milieu, but there was surprisingly little of this. The men could be seen sitting in the street outside the tea house, walking around together in the streets or in the park, which was only open to women on one day of the week when men were excluded. From the point of view of work, for example in the schools, there was in the educated urban milieu no division between the men's and women's worlds. The division arose in leisure hours when the women either paid or received visits at which no men were present. Mixed parties with married couples were unknown. The home thus belonged to the women in the leisure hours, the men spending their time with other men. During a visit my interpreter and I paid to one of her female colleagues, married to a male colleague, the husband was at home. He gave the impression of being unaccustomed to, and not quite happy about, the situation, created out of consideration for a European guest. On another occasion when several women teachers called, all colleagues of the wife, he was not present. As in the humble village milieu, the educated urban community split into two worlds outside working hours, each going its own way. 562 369 517

This division appeared in its purest form in the home of my interpreter. Here the father only returned home to eat his meals and to spend the night. The rest of the time he passed in his small business in the town. He was a representative of a Baghdad firm that supplied electrical articles. His leisure 562 593

His leisure

562 hours were spent at his favourite tea house or in the streets. The division applied also to the adolescent
593 sons, who in their leisure hours were sent out from the homes to obtain a "street education" (see
p. 114, 115). Only small boys of from 5 to 6 years of age still belonged to the home, that is to say, the
[883] women's world. For an outsider it seemed that this separation of the two sexes during the day caused
517 the men to inhabit a world utterly devoid of women. From tea houses, booths, or on benches men
saw only anonymous, concealed figures hasten past. No woman's face or form was visible. When Østrup[28] says that in Oriental areas a man outside his home meet the persons—other men—who constitute his spiritual content, he is quite right as regards conditions in a Kurdish town like Sulaimani. However, this can be extended to mean that the man also meets in other men persons who come to mean something for him in other ways. The social conventions of Kurdish men evinced at times a homosexual tinge; they could be seen walking together with arms round waists, holding hands
[838] and interlacing fingers.

Within the home there seemed to be remarkable little room for him. A peg or nail on the wall for
593 his clothes, a place on the floor by the meat tray, a mattress or iron bedstead wherever he had decided
562 to sleep—that was all. Man's position in the home was clearly demonstrated one evening in my interpreter's home. A woman's party was in progress when the master of the house and his 26 year old son returned at about 10 p.m. In the courtyard, some twenty-five women were seated on chairs, mattresses
[352] and clumsy sofas, their black over-garments and veils hanging on pegs in the hall. Most of the women
present were not allowed to be seen by the two men. It was technically impossible for so many women to rush simultaneously to obtain their *abā* and veils, and they therefore decided by their behaviour to create an intangible, but insurmountable, barrier between the two sexes. The men acted as though they were invisible, and the women pretended that they had not observed anyone entering the only entrance to the house. Slipping behind the row of seated women, the men disappeared into the rooms to change into their home and sleeping dress—a long striped shirt over wide pants for the elder man and pyjamas for the younger. Re-appearing, they once more stole past the seated women, and made their way to the corner of the courtyard where the ladder to the roof was leaning. Up this they vanished into the gloom. Neither the women nor the men exchanged the customary salutation. On this special occasion neither side was able to notice the presence of the other. There was nothing for the men to do but disappear from view, and as the women were occupying the area of the whole house, this meant going to bed on the roof.

593 The way this home was arranged, very few square metres seemed to be left at the disposal of the
husband and the grown-up son. Of course, in this case it was the common home of two wives. However,
595 there was very little more room for the man who had his two wives installed in separate, twin houses
562 at Kirkuk. I had no opportunity to discover how the guest room, which was the one room common
to both houses, functioned if the husband had male guests. To judge by similar cases in my interpreter's home it can be assumed that the women prepared refreshments, but kept to themselves in another room, cut off from the guest room by a passage that led from the street to the courtyard, or retired to the courtyard itself and the small rooms surrounding it. However, the guest room was not the husband's living room in the ordinary way. The two apartments together formed a house possessing two entrances from the street, but were inside unconnected. Each was a woman's home where the husband

was in turn received as an honoured guest. To illustrate how a husband's position in a Kurdish Muslim 593
home appeared to a young Englishman, I quote a letter recived from one of the British engineers at 595
the Dokan Dam Site who, with his wife, visited my interpreter's home after my departure: "Our 562
visit . . . almost coincided with a wedding of one of the sisters there . . . it is certainly a woman's world in that household. The day after the wedding, the next day that we were there, the new husband was nowhere to be seen, and when we asked where he was we got the answer that already they had got tired of him kicking his heels round the house and they had sent him out in the town." As Blackman[29] says of the Egyptian *fellāhīn*-woman: "Though theoretically they are supposed to be entirely [171] [114]
in subjection to the male sex, in practise they can, and often do, maintain a very firm hold on their husbands . . . Indeed, I am often inclined to think that it is the poor oppressed Egyptian man who has a claim to my sympathy, and that the over-ruled, oppressed wife is somewhat of a myth".

In regard to possibility of movement and the distribution of authority between man and woman, 562
it appears from the foregoing that the four feminine *milieus* within the area investigated evince the 369
following picture (see diagram). 565 593

Distribution of culture elements in the four milieus.

Culture elements	Village aristocracy		Humble village		Educated urban		Uneducated urban	
	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married	unmarried	married
Face veil and *abā*	(+)	(+)	(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+
Seclusion	+	+					+	+
Freedom of movement			+	+	+	+		
Position of women	equal to men		inferior to men		equal to men		superior to men	
Common life	+							
Polygamy	+		(+)				+	

I *In the village aristocracy*: No veil, but the maintenance of seclusion. Equal distribution of authority between man and woman. A certain common life exists outside the home.

II *In the humble village milieu*: Neither veil nor seclusion. Distribution of authority in the man's favour. Slight or no common life inside the home, that is to say the maintenance of the social barrier between the men's and women's worlds.

III *In the educated urban milieu*: Use of the veil, but no seclusion. Equal distribution of authority between men and women. Slight common life in the home, thus the maintenance of the social barrier between the worlds of men and women.

IV *In the uneducated urban milieu*: Both veil and seclusion. Distribution of authority to woman's advantage. No common life in the home, thus the maintenance of a barrier between the worlds of men and women.

It is hoped that it appears from the foregoing how difficult it is to use the term "free position" (or 121
lack of it) and "equality" (or lack of it) when it is a matter of the Kurdish variant of the Islamic cultural 562
pattern. Seclusion cannot be compared with the lack of liberty that existed in our culture until the 114

K 121 562 114 middle of the last century. Within her seclusion the Kurdish woman, like other Islamic women, is assured by the law and by the Coran of rights quite other than those accorded Western women prior to their emancipation[39]. Kurdish women were not suppressed. Even the humble village women were no more suppressed than any woman in a peasant community could be when the biggest share of the work falls to her lot. It was a physically, not a legally, inferior status.

K 562 Nor are there any grounds for talking about lack of equal rights because men and women in Kurdistan each have their own pattern of life. One might as well say that a man had not the same rights as a woman because he was unable to follow her pattern of life. The world of men and women were simply divided, more or less (mostly more) from the cradle to the grave. One can therefore talk of an existing justification for this division, with a deviation in favour of the man within the humble village milieu, and in favour of the woman in the educated urban milieu.

ANALYSIS OF THE STRUCTURE OF THE KURDISH WOMAN'S CULTURAL PATTERN IN THE LIGHT OF THE COMING "EMANCIPATION"

K 178 It is a fact that the Kurdish Muslim area, like other Muslim territories, is on the threshold of a transformation. The introduction of the necessary industrialisation to improve the material side of this technically-underdeveloped country was, in 1957, practically on the doorstep. Even though these changes in the structure of society will last reach the Kurds, that political minority in mountains difficult of access, the years ahead will also bring this area into the melting pot.

K 114 K 115 In conclusion, therefore, a glance must be cast on the culture pattern of the Kurdish woman, a culture sentenced, if not to death, at all events to radical change, and some of the conditions existing in 1957 are judged in their relation to coming reconstruction. As mentioned in the introduction, I had in the person of my interpreter, an example of the most "advanced" feminine type among the Kurdish women studied. When placing the word "advanced" in inverted commas I do so advisedly.

K 121 178 114 As a rule one overlooks the fact that cultures older than our own, despite the lack of our Western technical facilities, may in other directions represent a more advanced culture stage, and that a change caused by bitter economic necessity so far from representing progress may, on the contrary, well have to be paid for by retrogression in other spheres. At first sight the introduction of the Western woman's form of life is regarded as being of direct benefit to women with foreign culture patterns. It thus seems surprising that the abolition of the veil, the dropping of seclusion and so forth meets with opposition from women at some places. A few examples of this can be quoted.

Y 293 177 114 In the Muslim areas of Yugoslavia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, the veil was abolished by Marshal Tito in 1952. Two years later, when visiting these provinces, I was told that it cost a woman three months' imprisonment to retain the black veil and chequered over-garment which, with variants, I

Yugoslavia EF1
IRAN MA1
Turkey MB1

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had seen women wear at Mostar and Sarajevo in 1938. This threat of imprisonment if the emancipation ordained was not complied with, hardly suggests that the women accepted their "freedom" with enthusiasm.

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In Iran, the veil and over-garment were done away with by Shah Rizā in January 1936[31]. This was done in the course of three weeks. Each week the area of the different towns was reduced in which women were permitted to go veiled. At the same time models of European coats were exhibited at the town hall with the idea that women could copy them in replacement of the forbidden over-garment. By offering the material at cheap prices, attempts were made to hinder economic considerations holding up the abolition of the old Muslim dress. The Shah's own ladies headed the reform, and were the first to show themselves in public without the veil. Nevertheless, the wife of a Danish engineer, engaged with Kampsax on railway construction, told me that her Iranian maids in Teheran demanded in the beginning to be fetched and brought home by cab to avoid having to show themselves in the street unveiled. Concerning Iranian conditions, Aidin[32] writes as early as 1931: "A most interesting speaker gave the point of view of the Moslem ladies; they were content with the veil as a sign of care and respect and it was the economic position more than anything else that had forced women to unveil and take up work". Levy[33], twenty years later, furnishes the information that "Shah Rizā enacted his unveiling laws in Persia ... Since his death the old restrictions appear to have been reimposed except in Europeanized families".

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In Turkey the veil was abolished by Kemal Atatürk in 1925. Here the changes in women's pattern of life coincided with a general attack on all Arab elements in Turkey's culture. The Caliphate, which passed from the hands of Egyptian Arabs to the Osmanlis in 1547, was abolished on 3rd March, 1924, two years after the Turkish sultan had been deposed. In 1928 Islam was abolished as the state religion, the Church and the State being separated. The religious law was replaced by legislation based on Roman and Swiss law. The Coran was translated in to Turkish, Arabic script being replaced by Latin letters. The opposition to all things Arab, the weakening of Islam as a rule of conduct for daily life, were to facilitate the swing-over in a Western direction of the Turkish women. In addition, thirty years earlier, a voice had been raised among women urging a change in her century-old culture pattern. Between 1880–89 Djevdet Pasha's daughter, Fatme Alije Hanum, a member of the Young Turk Party, published a book, "The women of Islam", and demanded, within the framework of Islam, the access of women to a better education and greater spiritual development[34]. But even in Turkey the changes imposed by the government on the status of women did not go through entirely without friction.

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Rygaard[35] thus writes in the 1930's: "The ban on the wearing of the veil has, among the humble population in the Turkish quarters, acted contrary to its intention of making women more free than formerly, for many Turks still do not wish their women to be in the street unveiled, and forbid them to leave the house". He also gives another explanation of the government's interest in abolishing the veil and over-garment, an interest that has nothing to do with the alteration of woman's position.

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He writes[36]: "As an excuse for the ban [of the wearing of veil and over-garments] the reformers stated that dangerous criminals and adherents of l'ancien régime all too easily could hide themselves under the long, armless "feradje", the black "carshaf", and the flimsy "yashmak", transparent only from inside, which naturally afforded the best security against search, and it is an undoubted fact that many a spy and criminal has concealed himself under this woman's dress, that veils and hides all forms". Rygaard likewise stresses[37] that "... the so-called emancipation of the Turkish woman is regarded with some justification by many Turks as being an abandonment of a natural protection, and that the Turkish desire to guard his women strictly in the home must be viewed as a symptom of modesty and not be credited to the very widespread, but erroneous, impression that he jealously wishes to hide strictly private mistresses in his harem under the most humiliating conditions".

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[113]
Should one wish to learn about conditions in these Turkish harems prior to Kemal Atatürk's day, one can hardly do better than to apply to the women themselves. We have an account of conditions under the Sultanate just before the first World War, written by an Arab Sherifa, Musbah Haidar. As daughter of a brother of the Sherif of Mecca, who dwelt in a castle on the Asiatic side of the Bosporus, as the "guest" of the Sultan of Turkey, and with an English mother, she gives in her memoirs (published 1948) a woman's assessment of life in an Arab-Turkish upper-class home. Musbah Haidar[38] speaks about: "... those well-guarded, exclusive and dignified homes—*the harems*". Regarding the beginnings of the transformation of the Oriental women's life in Turkey to a Western pattern, she writes: "With the rapid decline of old courtesies, breeding and old customs, all that the women got in their place was the doubtful liberty of being able to go out when and where they liked, instead of being guarded and protected as they always have been, always attended and back in their homes by sunset". Incidentally, she strongly denounces the descriptions that have appeared in book form or in articles that purport to provide an authentic picture of the life of a Muslim woman in Turkey. "... In all the years which Musbah spent in Turkey, never did she see Europeans being either allowed or accepted into the Imperial circle, or those of other great houses. Great Eastern ladies were not in the habit of receiving inquisitive and curious foreigners. If occasionally an Ambassador's wife or that of a Consul-General was permitted to visit the Harem, it was done most ceremoniously, and no lady present ever relaxed her polite and formal hospitality into intimate friendship. So these so-called intrepid travellers and globetrotting journalists could only pick up their impressions and ideas from some ninth-rate Levantine, or from some self-styled and much advertised "Hanoum"[39].

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It was symptomatic that in Iraqi Kurdistan it was among the young men[40] and not among the women that I met a definite wish for a change of existing conditions. It was among the young men who had studied at the University of Beirut, or who had been trained in Europe or America, that one heard talk of, as an ideal for the future, "an educated wife" and monogamy. The right people in the West are most inclined to envy, the Coran's sanction of polygamy, was apparently not a right they wished to avail themselves of in the future. From what I saw of the man's position in the home, particularly within the uneducated urban feminine milieu, it was understandable that a man could

dream of not having to face a united women's front of, say, mother, wives (usually chosen by the 178
women of his family), plus sisters, daughters half and fully grown, who ordered his life from start to 185
finish. In an "educated wife" he hoped to obtain compensation for the social and emotional contact
he was now forced to seek during the hours of day with other men. 562

This leads us to a discussion of the Islamic, and thus the Kurdish woman's marital position and the
marriages arranged by the family. As already mentioned, the choice of a young man's married partner 562
is practically always left to the women of his family, that is to say the mother or step-mother and 584
sisters, whereafter the matter is laid before the father for approval. In regard to the fact that married couples in many cases have never seen each other before the marriage is to be consummated, the general Western idea is that it must be difficult for a young girl to be given to an unknown man. However, it must be equally trying for the young man. This is also pointed to by Granqvist when she says[41]: "In what concerns a woman's lack of freedom in her marriage the same thing holds good to a great extent of the young man".

It was characteristic that the brother of Sheikh Taifûr in Topzawa, who was thinking of going to Europe, asked me if it really was true that one could walk up to any woman in the street and offer her marriage. That was his first impression of liberty of choice in Europe. He had never envisaged any sentimental basis for marriage.

The young woman is thus selected by the women with whom she will have to live and work, as the
young couple usually dwells in the bridegroom's home. She must beforehand feel highly-prized by
the bride price paid out on the contraction of marriage, which is expended to a greater or lesser degree 584
on the luxury with which she is to be surrounded. In most cases she knows the women who are to be 593
her daily companions and fellow-workers. From her own home she is well trained in the domestic
work that can be expected of her. She has been brought up with the quite natural idea that her most
important destiny and greatest happiness is to be allowed to bear children. From the years spent in
the home among other women she has heard and witnessed everything worth knowing about the 593
difficulties of matrimonial relations. She is not expected to be her husband's comrade on a spiritual 562
or intellectual level. The basis for the joint family idea, with several generations housed within the same building is a married life of a different nature, less organised than in our culture pattern. During the day the husband, even among the village aristocracy, has little opportunity of companionship with his wife, as the great boundary between the form of life of men and women compelled him to seek the society of other men, whilst on her side the woman enters the feminine half of the community. On entering marriage, a young woman, in addition to her own personal qualities, is regarded as a representative of a whole family, with which it has been felt desirable to become allied. She arrives in an aura of her own family's glory. She herself had no personal expectations beyond the advantages to be derived from the married state and the fulfilment of a woman's natural desire to have children. As young people in good families had not seen each other before marriage, it was obvious that no sentimental basis existed on which to start the union, but this did not mean that later on a high degree of sympathy might not develop between husband and wife and that this was quite

562 sufficient to ensure an harmonious life together, particularly because the culture pattern more or less
separated the couple during the day. The young woman was thus faced with demands she was able
593 to fulfil, highly-valued beforehand, with a prospect of a gain if greater sympathy or love was born
between herself and her mate. She was but little subjected to comparison with other women, for in
his outside life the husband never met them; the wives of his friends he never saw. In the home he met
only those with whom marriage was out of the question. The threats to her marriage were thus not
the chances that at his place of work or in society her husband met and fell in love with another
woman, but were far more logically justified. If life together proved impossible, both husband and
[586] wife could secure the dissolution of the marriage (see p. 121). Should she bear no children, or no sons,
an extra wife was justified. This might mean that the family of the other wife stipulated that the first
wife should be renounced, or that the two women could not tolerate daily life together. By the stipulation of a large sum to be set aside for the contingency of divorce, the wife's family assured the bride
beforehand as adequately as was humanly possible.

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584 The man, on the other hand, gave everything he owned at the time, perhaps assisted by his family,
for a woman who was certainly to the taste of his female relatives, but not necessarily to his. Should
he not like his bride after the marriage had taken place, he had in the first place invested a lot of money
in this disappointment, and secondly had to maintain his case against the women of his family, who
had selected her. A new wife of the four sanctioned by the Coran, depending upon one's economic
circumstances, was another unknown ticket in the marriage lottery.

593 From the moment a man passed from the unmarried to the married state, he was for the rest of his
562 life the head of a family. As the bride price was paid when marriage was contracted, the husband had
not only the right but also the duty to keep the children[42] in the event of divorce. Quite small children,
[586] it is true, stayed with the mother until they had reached a certain age, but then returned to the father.
In the event of a fresh marriage a man thus had no chance of leaving his children. The new wife, or
[587] wives, who entered his home took over the work of looking after the brood of children that might
already be there. This provided the children with a stable home and childhood, something that is
not always the case in the West. The constant factors in the home were thus, theoretically, the father
and the children, whilst the mother was the fluctuating point. This gave father, mother and children
a mutual status quite different from the position of these three home elements in our culture.

Considerable attention has been paid to the difficulties that could arise between women when one
more of the four wives sanctioned by religion was acquired. Little attention has been paid, on the
562 other hand, to the difficulties facing the new wife when the home she entered had adolescent or adult
children. Nor has much consideration been given to the possibility that the stationary children, whom
586 the father is unable to marry off, may intervene in favour of their mother after she has been renounced
593 by the father. My interpreter's mother, for example, was repudiated and sent back to her family,
leaving behind her three children aged about 6, 7 and 8 (see p. 137). When these children reached
the age of discretion, they demanded the return of their mother, and the father was forced to give way.

With the introduction of monogamous marriage and divorce that not only gets rid of the wife, but 593
also dissolves the children's home, a phenomenon hitherto unknown will arise in Kurdistan and other 178
Islamic areas that are copying our pattern of culture, the solitary mother: on the one hand the solitary
divorced mother, and on the other, the result of women's entry into the labour market, the solitary
unmarried mother.

Although it has been maintained from several quarters[43] that the veil and seclusion, women's withdrawn 293
social position, were originally foreign to the Arabs and to Muhammed, and were first adopted [177]
by Islam when the Arabs came into contact with the Greek-Hellenic, Byzantine culture, the fact remains 788
that this retired status obtained religious sanction from Sure 24, verse 31 of the Coran. Consequently, 562
the veil and seclusion are as much a religious as a secular matter. The law of Islam *šarī'a*,
goes far deeper than does Roman law. The ordinances of the Coran, the whole *fiqh* system, comprises
every detail of existence, and constitutes a practical guide, a pattern of behaviour[44]. The restrictions
resulting therefrom were maintained by Kurdish women in Iraq with the greatest seriousness, respect
and care in all four feminine milieus.

In general, attention has been paid to the fact that women in Muslim homes where seclusion was 562
maintained to a greater or lesser degree, were confined to certain parts of the house. There is therefore
reason to point out that the man may equally well be said to be excluded from the women's apartments
of all the other homes he may visit. In Kurdish villages only the guest room, a part of the
squire's house, was open to him. In towns he was permitted to enter the guest room (without a glance
at the courtyard) and to leave the house again just as discreetly. The core of the home was the forbidden
area; the women there were the people he was not allowed to see. From the time a boy passed a [882]
certain age, a wall was suddenly raised between him and the women's world; he was shut out and
reduced to the society of other men and the streets. The women belonging to his own home formed
an exception.

The banks, post offices and public offices I visited were as gloomy and cheerless as barracks. A 562
chair at a street corner or a tea house bench was the womanless world to which a male was relegated 591
on reaching manhood. It seemed to me that the men in their male world did not thrive as much as
did the women and children in their half of society. Somehow or other the women seemed to have
discovered a more lively and friendly social convention between themselves than had the men, or,
for that matter, than we have in the West. Under cover of the veil women were able to move about
in the man's world. Outside the home their world was not devoid of men to the same extent that the
men's world was devoid of women. Even though women were veiled in the street they were able to see.
In many cases they were also able to talk, trade and bargain with men in the *sūq*, in banks and in
post offices. They could see whom they were addressing; men saw only a black veil.

In view of the great part that conformance with the rules of Islam played in the life of Kurdish 178
women, her positive attitude to the five pillars of Islam (see chapter V), any change in her life pattern 771
in this quarter would involve a complete transformation. It is not surprising that the altered life of 562
women in Turkey has had to proceed hand in hand with a sustained offensive on all things Arab and

178 particularly on the time taken up during the day by religion and the attention to be paid to it. None
771 of the educated women with whom I resided said prayers daily (see p. 148). The fact that they worked outside the home as school teachers, hospital or visiting nurses, was such a breach of the original
562 Islamic pattern in which the exercise of religion in daily life demanded both time, place and attention which were difficult to reconcile with any kind of constant and effective work. My interpreter, a representative of the best-educated Kurdish women of the present time, had sacrificed her active participation in Islam's religious practices. However, by so doing, she lost the right and duty to break off from even the most pressing work in order to concentrate on spiritual matters. In consequence, some of the dignity of daily life disappeared, for quarrels and dramatics are difficult when regularly broken by the necessity of prayer. If women are enrolled into an effective conveyer band system outside the home, religion- and the peace of mind that goes with it-- will be largely lost to them.

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE BASIS ON WHICH THE EMANCIPATION OF THE EUROPEAN WOMAN BEGAN AND THAT EXISTING IN MUSLIM AREAS

562 If we compare conditions in the West with those in Islamic areas the following differences are apparent:

171 When the woman's emancipation movement began in Western society in the previous century, two worlds existed for women over a certain age: that of the wife and that of the old maid. Due to the fact that all women within a community like the Kurdish and other Muslim societies possessed the possibility of living the life of a normal woman—to be married and bear children— there has never been in Mohammedan countries a group of matrimonially-superfluous women, the type mainly behind the Women's movement in the West. Even to-day in Western communities the first thing stated about a woman—apart from the position she may personally have acquired—is whether she is married or not, Mrs. or Miss. From the point of view of career it has always been, and still is, in the Western world of greater advantage for a woman to enter marriage than it is for a man—quite contrary to conditions in Kurdistan. To remain unmarried in the Islamic world is, as maintained by several quarters[45], an impossibility, a view to which the Kurds subscribe. All a young man's energies are therefore concentrated on saving up money for a fitting bride price.

583 The difference in the view of the bride price as viewed from the outside world and as seen from inside—
562 in this case in Egypt—is stressed by Granqvist when she writes: "As a matter of fact there is a very close connection between the bride price given and the value ascribed to a woman. But while the
114 *fellāhin* women would consider it a shame and disparagement if nothing or too small a bride price

were given, and while it is clear that the husband himself would look down upon such a wife, and that the public opinion would belittle her and therefore a high bride price is looked upon as a protection and a guarantee that a woman shall be honoured and well treated. Europeans have looked at the facts differently and said: so low is the position of the woman that she is bought. Now people among whom bride price is customary do not understand the Western ideal; their natural conclusion is that she is not thought to be worth a bride price. Here two completely different points of view clash and in each case only the objectionable in the opposite view is considered. It shows how much people's judgement depends on custom, which is no certain or absolute measure of value"[illegible]. 583 562 119

What is now being offered the Muslim woman in various areas, and what will be offered the Kurdish woman sooner or later, is the abandonment of a protected and valued position; she will be asked to renounce being an essential link in a man's career, the only means whereby he can raise himself to the more socially-valued married state. 562 198 554

Instead she will obtain the partial equality we know in the West. In place of the clearly-stressed special position based on the difference of the sexes, she will acquire a partial equality with the opportunity to compete with men in all walks of life. At the same time her efforts in the spheres that have hitherto been reserved to her will be correspondingly less prized.

As the industrialisation of the country progresses, a large part of women's domestic activities will, as has happened in other countries, be transferred to trade with all its consequences, both good and bad. Her firmly-anchored culture pattern, sanctioned by religion, will collapse, though not by her wish, rather the reverse.

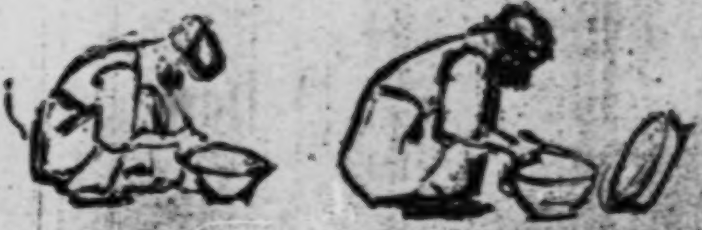
In the event of divorce and the adoption of monogamy, the stationary home that has so far existed for children will be dissolved. The solitary, divorced mother and the deserted unmarried mother will become social features to be incorporated into the community structure, as is about to be the case in our culture, where the number of solitary women has now reached such proportions that it can neither be overlooked nor concealed. The elderly will not obtain a place in the joint family, and the homes will no longer be able to afford protection to girls. The paramount demand concerning virginity is only logically justified provided a home exists where the girl can dwell, protected from the difficulties of life, and her parents— and not herself—arrange her marriage. 198 562 593

The elder members of the family are deprived of the right and duty to plan the marriages of the young and thus extend their family connections with consequent improved security for the individual. The emotional choice of a married partner will become universal. As the young gradually take their fate into their own hands they will neglect their personal responsibility for their elders, which will be taken over by the State.

When saying that women are "emancipated" in Islamic areas when the veil, and what it stands for, is abolished, this change in her way of life cannot be compared with what happened to the Western woman when emancipated at the turn of the century. It is true that the life pattern of Islamic women 198 562

113 is being re-modelled to resemble our own, but the structure of the pattern being transformed is
569 at all like the one that prevailed in the West when women's position was definitely improved.

114 What has been said will, perhaps, explain why difficulties arise when governments in Islamic are decree that women are to be "liberated" and the veil abolished. That certain advantages accrue t the men by these changes is obvious, but the difficulties that have arisen suggest that the Islamic woman has to abandon more rights and advantages than has so far been made clear. Perhaps, then, this investigation into the life of the Kurdish woman as it is to-day—or rather, as it was in 1957—on the threshold of transformation, but still representing, if not a typically Islamic culture pattern, at least certain features that apply to other Islamic areas, may serve to cast light on the question.



NOTES

Introduction, (p. 1–6)

1 Cf. H. Ingholt, The Danish Dokan Expedition, Sumer 13, 214 et seq. Baghdad 1957. – Jørgen Læssøe, The Shemshāra Tablets. A Preliminary Report. Arkæol. Kunsthist. Medd. Dan. Vid. Selsk. 4, No. 3, København 1959.

2 [illegible], [illegible] & [illegible], London. – Contemporary [illegible], Paris.

3 Generally spelt Sulaimaniyah. It is preferred here to use the name given it by Kurds themselves. – Cf. C. J. Edmonds, Kurds, Turks and Arabs, London 1957.

4 The area I visited is covered by R.A.F.'s aeronautical maps Nos. 340, 427 and 428.

Chapter I, (p. 3–20)

1 Nikitine 1956, 8 (& 3), 10 quotes V. Minorsky, who maintains Medio-Kurdish descent – Nikitine 1956, 12 (& 4), 13 quotes N. J. Marr who maintains the development "Kardukhi-Kurtchi-Kurds".

2 Cf. Nikitine 1956, 17 (& 5) – Edmonds 1957, 133.

3 Cf. Edmonds 1957, 141.

4 Cf. [illegible] 1931, 121.

5 Cf. Edmonds 1957, 83.

6 [illegible] 1926, 169 – Cf. Soane 1926, 363, 364, seqq.

7 Cf. [illegible] 1947, pass.

8 Cf. [illegible] 1948, 42 et seq.

9 [illegible] 1931, 260.

10 Concerning Sheikh Mahmud of Sulaimani see: [illegible] 1944, 71 – [illegible] 1932, 232 – Edmonds 1957, 2, 48, 308 et seq. – Edmonds 1958, 143 – [illegible] 1948, 40 – Gowan 1938, 190 – [illegible] 1947, 41, 150 – [illegible] 1947, 96 – Lees 1928, 233 et seq. – Lawrence-Soane 1933, 413 – [illegible] 1923, 420 – [illegible] 1933, 112 et seq. – Soane 1926, 251, 380 – Soane 1926, [illegible] – [illegible] 1928, 233.

11 Concerning Major Soane see: Edmonds 1957, 22 et seq., 149 et seq. – [illegible] 1947, 154 et seq. – Lees 1928, 267 – Soane 1926 (Wilson's) Introduction.

12 Edmonds 1945, 105 "[illegible] …".

13 [illegible] and [illegible] 1958, 239 et seq.

14 Edmonds 1957.

15 Edmonds 1958, 140: "Many young Kurds … should have begun to look to Russia for their inspiration …".

16 [illegible] 1952, 92 – 1948, 47: "[illegible] Committee (National Independence Committee) which was formed in 1927 to keep alive the national movement."

17 Fraser 1840, I, 278.

18 Fraser 1840, I, 193.

19 Fraser 1840, I, 194.

20 Fraser 1840, I, 193.

21 [illegible] 1896, 44.

22 [illegible] 1927, 17 – Cf. [illegible] 1918, 300: "One does not see very much of the women in the East, though the Kurds do not shut them up like the Turks, and they do not veil …".

23 [illegible] 1926, 402.

24 Soane 1926, 206 – Cf Edmonds 1958, 130: "a lady named Hafsa Khan …"

25 Soane 1926, 237.

26 Hay 1921, 43.

27 Edmonds 1958, 130.

28 Soane 1926, 206 – This information is repeated by Mrs. Lawrence-Soane 1933, 410.

29 Soane 1926, 237.

30 Cf. [illegible] 1953, 120: "among the leading families of Southern Kurdistan".

31 Soane 1926, 91 – Lees 1928, 227 – [illegible] 1953, 120 et seq. – Edmonds 1958, 130.

32 Lees 1928, 230 – Gowan 1938, 196.

33 Cf. [illegible] 1953, 120 et seq. – Edmonds 1958, 130.

34 Edmonds 1958, 130.

35 Cf. description of the [illegible] by [illegible] 1891, II, 9 – Foot plough from Iran in the National Museum of Denmark (E. [illegible]); cf. [illegible] 1951, 302.

36 Cf. Hay 1921, 37: "The bit is of the usual type common throughout Mesopotamia".

37 Cf. Hay 1921, 40.

38 From the Lurs in Iran has been brought back a carved wooden board, with [illegible] on the inner side for three fingers on the left hand (E. 3271) cf. [illegible] 1952, 81, Fig. 40 – From Turkey, [illegible], brought home three bone [illegible] joined with links, lined with leather straps on the back (M. 3000) (Fig. 9).

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[p. 187]

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39 Cf. information from the [illegible] 1952, [illegible].

40 Cf. [illegible] 1951, II, [illegible] a "[illegible]".

41 Cf. [illegible] 1940, [illegible].

42 [illegible]

43 The apparatus is described by [illegible]

44 [illegible]

45 Cf. [illegible]

46 [illegible]

47 [illegible] 1940, Plate 9.

48 [illegible] 1940, Plate 10.

49 [illegible]

50 Cf. [illegible]

51 [illegible]

52 [illegible]

53 [illegible]

54 Cf. [illegible]

55 [illegible]

56 [illegible]

57 [illegible]

58 [illegible]

59 [illegible]

60 [illegible]

61 [illegible]

62 [illegible]

63 Cf. [illegible]

64 [illegible]

65 [illegible]

66 Cf. [illegible]

67 [illegible]

68 [illegible]

69 [illegible]

70 [illegible]

71 [illegible]

72 Cf. [illegible]

73 Cf. [illegible]

74 Cf. [illegible]

75 [illegible]

76 Cf. [illegible]

Chapter [illegible] (p. [illegible])

1 Cf. [illegible]

2 [illegible]

3 Cf. [illegible]

4 Cf. [illegible]

5 [illegible]

6 Cf. [illegible]

7 [illegible]

8 [illegible]

9 Cf. [illegible]

10 [illegible]

11 Cf. [illegible]

12 Cf. [illegible]

13 [illegible]

14 Cf. [illegible]

15 Cf. [illegible]

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provided, only spoons for those who can not eat with their hands ...."

67 [illegible] reports that the Turks eat with spoons of wood or horn, whilst the Arabs eat with their fingers.

68 Cf. Rowe s.a., 57 et seq., Fig. 13.

69 Cf. Low 1966, [illegible]: "... "[illegible]", ... dung of cattle ... kneaded with chopped straw, and formed into round flat cakes ... stuck upon the walls ... to dry in the sun". – Feilberg 1952, [illegible] information concerning the Lurs: "d'excréments d'animaux comme combustible ....".

70 [illegible]

71 [illegible]

72 [illegible]

73 Cf. [illegible] information concerning [illegible]: "The fire hole ... in the middle of the floor is an institution ... Over this is the "kursi" or platform, a [illegible] wooden frame like an inverted table, ... covered with blankets or thickly-wadded cotton quilt ...." – [illegible] "... Le [illegible] ... une excavation carrée ... au fond de laquelle se place la braise ... [illegible] ... une grande couverture carrée, très ... ample ....".

74 Cf. [illegible]

75 Cf. concerning the Lurs Feilberg 1952, [illegible]: "[illegible] ... font griller le kebab ....".

76 [illegible]

77 Cf. Feilberg 1952, [illegible]: "[illegible] ....".

78 [illegible]: "a method of [illegible] by winding round pegs stuck in the ground ... not only the [illegible] but also the person [illegible] is inside ....".

79 An apparatus of quite the same appearance is used by the Lurs. Cf. Feilberg 1952, [illegible]. – Similar apparatus is depicted by [illegible]: Picture "[illegible]", Victoria and Albert Museum, London".

80 Cf. [illegible], Fig. 2. – Depicted by [illegible]

81 [illegible] call this type "[illegible]".

82 [illegible] – is found in Armenia. Cf. [illegible], Fig. 5.

83 [illegible] – Depicted from the Tajiks, [illegible], Fig. 1.

84 Cf. [illegible]: "... the [illegible] over the top of the loom and tied above the weaver's head. This would allow the weaver to "wind on" without leaving his seat ....".

85 Cf. [illegible]

86 Cf. Rowe [illegible], Fig. 2.

87 A similar production of clay jars without a potter's wheel is known from Armenia. Cf. [illegible], Fig. 5.

Chapter III. (p. 43-60)

1 [illegible] says regarding women's dress in Syria and Palestine: "C'est dans la première moitié du XVIII^e siècle que le pantalon large et [illegible] sur la cheville [illegible], à Constantinople, le pantalon [illegible] vers le bas."

2 Cf. Hansen [illegible]

3 [illegible] Lurs, cf. Feilberg 1952, [illegible], narrow trousers with fringes below, only [illegible] long.

4 Cf. [illegible]

5 Cf. Hansen [illegible]

6 The Lurs, cf. Feilberg 1952, [illegible].

7 Cf. [illegible]: "... [illegible] les manches ... d'ailleurs en longues pointes que l'on [illegible] autour de bras ....". – [illegible], Femmes de [illegible]: "... les jeunes femmes ... leurs manches sont liées sur le dos [illegible]". – [illegible] (Palestine).

8 Cf. [illegible]: "[illegible] short [illegible] jacket". – [illegible]: "[illegible], veste courte".

9 Cf. [illegible]: "a long coat ... not reaching to the floor, of some heavier stuff, the sleeves of which are tight but slit on the lower side for a few inches from the wrist ....". – [illegible]: "[illegible] long ....".

10 Cf. Hansen [illegible]

11 Cf. Hansen [illegible]

12 Cf. Hansen [illegible]

13 The Lurs, cf. Feilberg 1952, [illegible].

14 Cf. [illegible] – [illegible]: "[illegible]", mouchoir de couleur qui tombe derrière et dont on entoure une fois le cou". – [illegible] gives on the other hand "[illegible]" as a black and white chequered man's head cloth.

15 The Lurs, cf. Feilberg 1952, [illegible].

16 [illegible] from Central Kurdistan as: "a square mantle hanging down the back, [illegible] by two of its corners round the neck ....".

17 The Lurs, cf. Feilberg 1952, [illegible].

18 [illegible] calls it "[illegible]", like a "fez". – Cf. [illegible]

19 Cf. [illegible]: "a big turban with hanging [illegible], ...".

20 The Lurs, cf. Feilberg 1952, [illegible].

21 [illegible]: "[illegible]". – [illegible]

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"a silver [illegible] on the head ....". – Cf. [illegible] 1936, 405: "[illegible]", calotte de metal ....".

22 Cf. [illegible] u. [illegible] 1922, Taf. [illegible]. – Cf. EDMONDS 1957, 272: "belt with heavily bossed silver buckle".

23 Cf. [illegible] 1952, 53: ".... members of the Nestorian (Christians) tribe were suspected of being "Kurds" and thus subject to deportation ....".

24 [illegible] 1926, 402: "The dress adopted by the [illegible] women is while Kurdish in character yet influenced by Arab style". – Cf. [illegible] 1956, 35.

25 Cf. [illegible] 1946, 254.

26 [illegible] 1926, 120: "Singer's sewing-machines, an article which has penetrated to the remotest districts of Kurdistan."

28 Cf. [illegible] u. [illegible] 1922, 27 et seq., Taf. XI, nos. 1, 2, 4, 5.

29 Cf. [illegible] u. [illegible] 1922, 29, Taf. XIII, no. 6.

30 Cf. [illegible] u. [illegible] 1922, 24, 25, Taf. III, IV, V, VI.

31 [illegible] 1880, 154.

32 Cf. [illegible] u. [illegible] 1922, Taf. XI, nos. 3, 13, 14, 27, 28, 30.

33 Cf. particulars from Iran, BISHOP 1891, I, 217.

34 Cf. BLACKMAN 1927, 37.

35 Cf. BLACKMAN 1927, 37 – [illegible] 1957, 345 – LANE 1944, 29.

36 Cf. BISHOP 1891, I, 217, 320 – [illegible] 1894, 77, note 1.

37 Cf. LANE 1944, 40.

38 Cf. BISHOP 1891, I, 217 – BLACKMAN 1927, 39: "[illegible] (double belt)" – LANE 1944, 37.

39 Cf. from the Lurs FEILBERG 1952, 120 et seq., Figs. 123-26 – [illegible] 1956, 383.

40 Cf. [illegible] 1937, 69.

41 Cf. Mukri Kurdish male dress depicted by [illegible] 1958, 109, Fig. 4.

42 Cf. [illegible] 1950, 103.

43 Cf. [illegible] 1934, Pl. I, no. 1.

44 Cf. [illegible] 1926, 97, description of male dress with the Jaf tribe 1912 – [illegible] 1952, 336 – HAY 1921, 42 writes that the windings "are loosened while praying ....", a thing I did not observe; on the contrary, I always saw men praying with their windings.

45 Concerning the Lurs in Iran, the following definition is found in FEILBERG 1952, 113: "Le bord inférieur des jambes s'appelle [illegible]."

46 Cf. [illegible] 1950, 106.

47 In the National Museum of Denmark: A Kurdish prince's costume from ab. 1820 ([illegible]) shows Turkish sack-shaped trousers; cf. janissary costume from ab. 1820 ([illegible]).

48 EDMONDS 1957, 87.

49 CHARDIN 1811, IV, 142.

50 Cf. [illegible] 1952, 336.

51 The law, *šari'a*, forbids men to wear silk clothes; cf. JUYNBOLL 1910, 164.

52 Cf. [illegible] 1950, 103.

53 Cf. EDMONDS 1957, 303: "pull buttoned trousers".

54 Cf. EDMONDS 1957, 87.

55 Cf. CHARDIN 1711, IV, 131: "Semelles de souliers de chiffons, & de semelles de toile collée côte à côte & fort ferrées .... On les appelle pabouch giuve, c'est-à-dire, souliers de guenilles ...." – Cf. FEILBERG 1952, 79 et seq.

56 Cf. FEILBERG 1952, 80: "[illegible]" or "[illegible]".

57 Cf. EDMONDS 1957, 87.

58 Cf. [illegible] 1948, [illegible]: "The Kurd has a beautiful kafiyyah ...."

59 Cf. EDMONDS 1957, 87.

60 EDMONDS 1957, 87 – Cf. [illegible] 1956, 92.

61 Cf. BISHOP 1891, II, 131 et seq.

62 Cf. LANE 1944, 39 et seq.

63 [illegible] 1926, 234.

64 Cf. EDMONDS 1957, 87: "white cotton drawers .... not infrequently worn without trousers".

65 JUYNBOLL 1910, 112, note 5 calls attention to the fact that it arouses disapproval if a Muslim imitates an unbeliever in dress and mode of life.

66 Cf. HAY 1921, 42.

67 Cf. [illegible] 1894, 255: ".... the lazy grace which, in Orientals, characterizes also the movements of men, is completely lost when he has popped into the mantle of civilization" – BISHOP 1891, II, 131 already assumes that the transition to "tight trousers" (that is to say European dress) will cause the introduction of the chair.

68 A male dress similar to the Kurdish male dress was worn at the end of the previous century in the Caucasus area according to CHANTRE 1887, 31: "Le costume des hommes (Gouriens, groupe Kartvelien) se compose d'un pantalon en toile brune, très large du haut et serré à la cheville, maintenu autour de la taille par une ceinture de soie rouge; d'une veste courte et d'une sorte de turban dont un pli retombe gracieusement sur le dos ...." – Figs. 30, 31.

69 Cf. what [illegible] 1894, 64 remarks about the Kurds in Iran: "Die Tracht der Kurden kommt in manchem mit der türkischen überein ...."

70 Cf. [illegible] 1934, 104.

71 JUYNBOLL 1910, 129, note 2.

Chapter IV. (p. 95-140)

1 Cf. [illegible] 1926, 333.

2 LANE 1944, 509 refers to the fact that with the Egyptian Arabs the midwife brings a delivery chair.

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3 Woodsmall 1936, 314 writes concerning the training of midwives that even then the Government hospitals at Baghdad, Mosul and Basra held proper courses in midwifery, and a three-months' course for village women who, in virtue of age and experience, acted as midwives. Fully-trained midwives were given a certificate, the shorter-trained women were granted a licence or were registered. However, these courses were often boycotted, as the occupation of midwife was not well thought of and was often regarded as little better than prostitution.

4 Granqvist 1947, 34.

5 Nikitine 1922, 340 – 1956, 107.

6 Nikitine 1956, 108.

7 Donaldson 1938, 30 – Cf. Blackman 1927, 63.

8 Lane 1944, 510.

9 Blackman 1927, 63, 79.

10 About similar cradles with the Crimean Tartars, the same thing was observed by Lorenz 1932, 277.

11 Cf. information from Armenia, [illegible] 1926, 209.

12 Zacharova 1959, 270, Fig. 24.

13 Lorenz 1932, 275 et seq.

14 Andree 1895, 59, Bild 3.

15 Pokrowski 1889, 536, Fig. 16 – Chantre 1887, Taf. IV, Pl. 1.

16 Ploss 1902, II, Figs. 448, 456, 536, 575.

17 Lisitsian 1955, 212, Fig. 28. – [illegible] 1926, 208 et seq., Abb. 1–3.

18 [illegible] 1956, 160, Fig. – Cf. 225, note 2.

19 Buschan 1923, 351, 361, Abb. 234 – Cf. Abramzon 1949, 117, Fig. 9. (Kirghiz).

20 Bishop 1891, I, 372, Fig.

21 Ploss 1911, I, 247 – A star-shaped tile from the 13th century, "Minai-ware", depicts this type of cradle. Wilson 1957, Fig. 28.

22 [illegible] 1957, 59, Fig. 15.

23 Krafft 1902, fig. facing p. 20: "Boukhara. Dans les bazars: La ruelle des marchands de berceaux."

24 Zacharova 1959, 270, Fig. 24.

25 Abramzon 1949, 112, 114, 115, Figs. 3, 4, 6, 7.

26 Le Coq 1916, 10, Fig. 9 – 20, Fig. 10.

27 Pokrowski 1889, 538, Figs. 17–18.

28 [illegible] 1926, 209.

29 Lorenz 1932, 275.

30 Abramzon 1949, 116, Fig. 8.

31 Ploss 1911, I, 248.

32 Abramzon 1949, 112, 114, 115, Figs. 3, 4, 6, 7. – Buschan 1923, 351, Abb. 234.

33 Concerning the Lapps; cf. the National Museum (K. 278, K. 761, K. 1123) – Samoyeds; cf. Pokrowski 1889, Fig. 31 – Ostyaks; cf. Pokrowski 1889, Figs. 23, 25 – Yakuts; cf. the National Museum (K. 2. 220) – Chinook Indians; cf. Mason 1887, 176, Fig. 8 – Tsimshian Indians; cf. the National Museum (H. 1706) – Thompson Indians, British Columbia; cf. The National Museum (H. 2083) – At the end of the 18th century attempts were also made in Denmark to introduce a cradle-trough with cover in which the infant could be laid at night in order not to be overlain by the wet-nurse. These "child guards" were proposed and described by Saxtorph 1788, 256 et seq., Figs. I–III.

34 Araucanians; cf. Mason 1887, 200, Fig. 39 – Pima in South California; cf. The National Museum (H. 2511) – Kroeber 1925, Plates 39–40; 535, Fig. 48 – Apaches: cf. Mason 1887, 212, Fig. 43 – Paiute; cf. the National Museum (H. 1137) – Mohawk; cf. the National Museum (H. 3057, H.c. 366) – Algonkin; cf. the National Museum (H. 2091) – Chipewyan near Churchill River: "cradle-board" with bag, "the moss-bag"; cf. the National Museum (H.I. 32) – Ainu; cf. the National Museum (A. 1162).

35 Kroeber 1925, 92, 248, Plate 25: cradles "sitting"-type – Cf. Mason 1887, 182, Fig. 14 – the Kutchin have a seat with a curved back and a rod like a pommel between the child's legs; Richardson 1851, 384, Plate VI. – Sitting cradles are found in Borneo: Nieuwenhuis 1904, I, 71, Figs. a–b. – Hose 1925, 59, Fig. (facing 25) – Sitting cradles are found in Siberia (Mansi) Levin and Potapova 1956, 591.

36 Pokrowski 1889, 549.

37 R. IV. 45 (The National Museum).

38 Pokrowski 1889, 560, 561, Figs. 34–35.

39 Pokrowski 1889, 562, Figs. 36–37.

40 An interesting cradle type with sloping bottom (which forms an outlet for urine etc.), the child's legs resting over a cross bar, reported from Celebes, Adriani en Kruyt, 1951a, II, 393 et seq. – Cf. 1951b, Fig. 73 (nr. 3) – [illegible] 1913, 400, Fig. 212.

41 Ploss 1911, I, 247.

42 Ploss 1911, I, 249.

43 Pokrowski 1889, 538, Fig. 19 – Cf. Ploss 1911, I, 249.

44 [illegible] 1934, 97, Fig. 41a–b.

45 [illegible] 1928, 126.

46 Dickson 1951, 162, Figs. A–C, 380, 504, 170.

47 [illegible] 1947, 101, 103, Fig. 41.

48 [illegible] 1934, 98 – Dickson 1951, 170.

49 [illegible] 1928, 126, 123.

50 Ploss 1911, I, 247.

51 D. 4176 (The National Museum).

52 E. 209 – Cf. [illegible] 1932, 132 – [illegible] 1959, Fig. 11.

53 Woodsmall 1936, 204.

54 Blackman 1927, 39 – Cf. Dickson 1951, 201.

55 See 56, versus 57, 58, 59.

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56 Cf. Woodsmall 1936, 284.
57 Cf. reports of a similar kind concerning north India by Woodsmall 1936, 277, and concerning Egypt by Blackman 1927, 81.
58 Juynboll 1910, 161 et seq. – Feilberg 1952, 133 says that with the Lurs both boys and girls are circumcised. No reference to the circumcision of girls was made by the Kurds in Iraq.
59 Østrup 1894, 319.
60 Cf. Niebuhr 1778, II, 309 note.
61 Barth 1953, 62, note 1, – 83, 84, 85, 89, 91, 92.
62 Lees 1928, 254.
63 Cf. Edmonds 1935, 114 – Hay 1921, 38 – Leach 1940, 3.
64 Leach 1940, 3.
65 Blackman 1927, 240 – Burton 1944, 72 – Edmonds 1935, 114 – Hamilton 1947, 80.
66 Phillips 1951, 7 et seq.
67 Cf. Edmonds 1957, 83, note 1: "The name of a lady of prominent family is followed by the male title "Khan"; she is referred to as "Khanim", the Lady, when the name is not mentioned." – Edmonds 1958, 150 – Soane 1926, 287.
68 Cf. Bousquet 1953, 19 et seq.
69 Cf. Kaberry 1939, 72 concerning conditions with the Australian natives, as opposed to Bishop 1891, I, 218 who has the deepest sympathy with the Persian children at the sight of their lack of childhood.
70 Østrup 1894, 42.
71 Lane 1944, 56.
72 Cf. Edmonds 1958, 151, who mentions that the first mixed school began as an experiment in Sulaimani in 1955, but that 35 years earlier, even before girls' schools existed, he remembers enlightened parents who sent their daughters to the available boys' schools up to the age of 12–13.
73 Further teaching for young men and women could be obtained at the American university of Beirut. This even in the 30's was the university of the Arab speaking world. Cf. Woodsmall 1936, 141.
74 Longrigg and Stoakes 1958, 172 et seq.: Education.
75 Cf. Longrigg and Stoakes 1958, 187.
76 For further information cf. Conway 1927, 334 et seq.
77 Bishop 1891, I, 218.
78 Longrigg and Stoakes 1958, 193.
79 Cf. Østrup 1894, 66 concerning conditions with the Turks.
80 Concerning conditions in Iran cf. Bishop 1891, I, 218: "... the devotion of the mother to the boy is amply returned by the grown-up son, who regards her comfort as his charge, and her wishes as law, even into old age ...".
81 Sure 4, verses 22, 23.
82 Juynboll 1910, 218 et seq. – Cf. Granqvist 1935, 65 et seq. – Cf. Lane 1944, 161 et seq.
83 Cf. Barth 1953, 137.
84 Leach 1940, 20.
85 Barth 1954, 171 – Ortho-cousin marriage is further referred to by Dickson 1951, 140, 147, as general among Arab tribes in Iraq, by Lane 1944, 161 in the case of Egyptian Arabs, and by Blackman 1927, 38 in regard to Egyptian *fellahin*.
86 Leach 1940, 21.
87 Granqvist 1935, 118.
88 Cf. Hangi 1907, 193.
89 Cf. Hangi 1907, 194, who states concerning the customs of Muslims in Sarajevo: "Solange die Svatica (Brautwerber) im Hause weilt, darf das Mädchen das Gemach nicht betreten, in welchem sie sich befindet, auch darf sie sich im Hausflur oder Hofraume blicken lassen."
90 Cf. what is reported about the Egyptian Arabs by Lane 1944, 163 – Cf. Levy 1957, 108 concerning general conditions within Islam.
91 Granqvist 1935, 105, 106.
92 Cf. Granqvist 1935, 83 – Hangi 1907, 193 (regarding Bosnian Muslims) – Lane 1944, 162 – Levy 1957, 108.
93 Cf. Juynboll 1910, 210: If he be the father or grandfather, a wali can on his own authority marry off a minor girl but only to an equal and for a suitable bride-price.
94 With virgins silence is regarded as sufficient sanction. Cf. Juynboll 1910, 210.
95 Concerning the Lurs Feilberg 1952, 133 states that it was previously their custom for young men of 20 to marry girls of 9–12.
96 Kaberry 1939, 93.
97 Levy 1957, 114 et seq.
98 I was stated that in the villages it was the local mulla who alone arranges the drawing up of the marriage settlement some days, or quite shortly, before the wedding itself takes place.
99 Juynboll 1910, 210.
100 Juynboll 1910, 214 et seq. The precise fulfilment of the formalities is most important, as the validity of the marriage depends upon it. Special experts recite the formulas for the bride's wali and for the bridegroom, who repeat them. These experts can also act as agents for the two parties, particularly for the bride's wali, whose position is the most difficult as he must attend to the interests of the absent bride.
101 Lane 1944, 164 – Cf. Levy 1957, 114: "half or two-thirds payable before consummation ..." – Juynboll 1910, 216: "... die Hälfte oder zwei Drittel des *Mahr* ...".

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102 Cf. Hangi 1907, 204: "... eine materielle Sicherstellung der Frau für den Fall, als der Mann sie entlassen wollte ..." – Cf. Gibb 1933, 33 et seq.: "legislation on divorce ... enhanced the status of women" – Cf. Hay 1921, 44, who points out that the part of the bride-price not paid out is an assurance for the bride – Cf. Anderson 1950, 171.

103 Cf. Juynboll 1910, 223.

104 Juynboll 1910, 184, 229: "... wenn er durch *Talāq* (d.h. Verstossung) freiwillig all seinen Rechten auf seine Frau entsagte ...".

105 Østrup 1914, 65 – Cf. Nebbeter 1703, 392.

106 Blackman 1927, 92.

107 Levy 1957, 100.

108 Juynboll 1910, 63 et seq.

109 Cf. Gautier 1949, 18: "Le Coran n'est pas comme l'Evangile, simplement le livre sacré ...; il est le code, ... la constitution."

110 Sure 4, verses 4, 20.

111 Blackman 1927, 92.

112 Granqvist 1939, 59.

113 Evans-Pritchard 1931, 36 suggests as a better term "bride-wealth". Cf. Man 1931, Nos. 84, 85, 234.

114 Niebuhr 1778, II, 420.

115 Bishop 1891, I, 355 et seq.

116 Lane 1944, 166.

117 Cf. Hangi 1907, 157: "... der Kur'an muss nämlich an einer erhöhten ... Stelle gehalten werden. Überdies darf derselbe nicht unterhalb eines menschlichen Knies oder in gleicher Höhe mit demselben gehalten werden ...".

118 Cf. Hangi 1907, 148, who from Bosnia refers to gifts handed to a schoolteacher wrapped in artistically embroidered scarves "... manchmal sogar in ein solches Tuch gewickelt ein Hemd oder ein Unterbeinkleid ...".

119 Hay 1921, 84: "Marriage customs in the towns differ from those in the country. In particular, it is customary for the bride's relations to provide a dowry for her, instead of the young man having to collect a large sum of money in order to purchase her."

120 Lane 1944, 166, note 1.

121 Lane 1944, 166.

122 Cf. Dickson 1951, 204.

123 Dickson 1951, 204.

124 Lane 1944, 42, note 1.

125 Lane 1944, 350, note 1.

126 Granqvist 1939, 130.

127 Cf. Granqvist 1939, 130, information concerning the Arabs in Palestine.

128 Lane 1944, 166.

129 Hangi 1907, 201.

130 Cf. Hangi 1907, 206.

131 That the bride in Muslim circles in Bosnia is accompanied by a female relative, but never by the mother, is mentioned by Hangi 1907, 216, who under the term "Jengija" also refers to another female companion who is to instruct the bride, (208).

132 Cf. Juynboll 1910, 164.

133 Cf. what Granqvist 1939, 103 states about Palestinian Arabs.

134 Wilson 1937, 291.

135 Feilberg 1952, 157.

136 Bishop 1891, I, 356 – Garnett 1891, 132: "similar to Greek 'horn'."

137 Hangi 1907, 29 refers to a similar drum from Bosnia.

138 Cf. Nikitine 1956, 109 – Hay 1921, 62.

139 Østrup 1914, 79.

140 Hay 1921, 62 – Garnett 1891, 132: "a kind of reed-flute".

141 Cf. Hangi 1907, 206 concerning Muslims in Bosnia.

142 That brides are specially covered is mentioned, in the case of Palestine, by Granqvist 1939, 133, in the case of Egypt by Lane 1944, 170, 177.

143 Red brings good luck. Cf. Lane 1944, 170 – Nikitine 1956, 110.

144 Granqvist 1939, 133.

145 Cf. Hangi 1907, 56: "Der Händedruck als Begrüssung ist bei den Moslims nicht üblich." – 231: "Die Moslims küssen sich niemals auf Mund oder Wange. Sie umarmen sich, und der Eine legt dem Anderen den Kopf zuerst auf die rechte, sodann auf die linke Schulter ..."

146 Cf. Nikitine 1922, 342.

147 Granqvist 1939, 150.

148 Granqvist 1939, 149 et seq.

149 Krohn s.a., 303.

150 Cf. Barth 1953, 111.

151 Granqvist 1935, 105, note 2.

152 Nikitine 1922, 344.

153 Østrup 1894, 326 – Niebuhr 1772, 35 et seq.

154 Hay 1921, 69.

155 Nikitine 1922, 342.

156 Feilberg 1952, 135.

157 Dickson 1951, 205.

158 Nebbeter 1703, 407.

159 Sure 4, verse 3.

160 Cf. Juynboll 1910, 224.

161 Sure 2, verse 228 – Sure 65, verse 4 (three months).

162 Sure 2, verse 241.

163 Sure 2, verse 229.

164 Sure 2, verse 230.

165 Sure 58, verses 2–3 – Sure 33, verse 4.

166 Cf. Lane 1944, 102.

167 Soane 1926, 396.

168 Lindfield-Soane 1935, 410.

169 Hay 1921, 43 et seq.

170 Lane 1944, 188 et seq.

171 Cf. Hangi 1907, 239 concerning Bosnia: "Es kommt wohl vor, dass eine Frau ihren Mann verlässt, aber dies geschieht zumeist nur dann, wenn der Mann für die Familie nicht Sorge trägt und Frau und Kinder hungern und entbehren lässt. Dann wird sie zumeist von ihren Verwandten aufgenommen, oder sie verdingt sich als Dienstmagd bei einer moslimischen Familie, wo sie als Familienmitglied behandelt wird. Denn solche arme Frauen aufzunehmen und zu versorgen wird als gottgefällige Handlung hoch angerechnet."

172 Cf. Lane 1944, 189: "... a separate house, ... or a suite of apartments (consisting of a room in which to sleep and pass the day, a kitchen, and a latrine) that are, or may be made, separate and shut out from any other apartments in the same house ..."

173 Cf. Gowan 1938, 202: "... a dispensary at almost every administrative headquarters. At all police stations ... small supply of drugs ...".

174 Cf. Granqvist 1947, 74 concerning Palestine.

175 Cf. Dickson 1951, 618 who concerning conditions among at Kuwait quotes C. S. G. Mylrea.

176 Wilkinson 1958, 62.

177 Cf. Niebuhr 1922, 342.

178 Dickson 1951, 209.

179 Lane 1944, 518.

180 Cf. Juynboll 1910, 170.

181 Cf. Juynboll 1910, 169, note 3.

182 Cf. Dickson 1951, 207 – Cf. Lane 1944, 518, note 1.

183 Cf. Dickson 1951, 211, who states that to wash a corpse the desert Arabs use "a gauntlet of coarse wool".

184 Cf. Juynboll 1910, 170 – Hangi 1907, 261 – Dickson 1951, 213 – Lane 1944, 518.

185 Cf. Juynboll 1910, 170.

186 Lane 1944, 519.

187 The washing of the corpse is performed an unequal number of times. Cf. Juynboll 1910, 170.

188 Juynboll 1910, 170.

189 "When a woman is dead, the only men who may touch her are those men who are forbidden to marry her ...: her father, brother, father's brother, mother's brother, her two grandfathers, her son, her brother's son ... and her grandsons. On the other hand her husband, her brother-in-law, her father's brother's son ..., her mother's brother's son ... or strangers ... may not touch her ... A woman shall be guided towards eternity by her brothers." Granqvist 1955, 288.

190 Blackman 1927, 111.

191 Niebuhr 1922, 342.

192 Østrup 1894, 316.

193 Cf. Juynboll 1910, 171, who tells that the meal takes place on the 7th or 40th day after the death.

194 Niebuhr 1922, 343.

Chapter V. (p. 145–162)

1 In reviewing the exercises of piety and the ceremonies with them I have relied on Juynboll 1910, 66 et seq.

2 Sure 2, verse 25; Sure 44, verse 54.

3 Sure 4, verse 124; Sure 43, verse 70. – Women's access to Paradise is furthermore referred to in Sure 9, verses 71, 72; Sure 33, verse 35; Sure 36, verse 55; Sure 48, verse 5; Sure 57, verse 12.

4 Cf. Woodsmall 1936, 401 et seq.

5 Cf. Lane 1944, 81.

6 Juynboll 1910, 75 et seq.

7 Gibb 1955, 54 et seq.

8 Cf. Fraser 1840, I, 221.

9 Cf. Lane 1944, 81.

10 Leach 1940, 60.

11 Cf. Juynboll 1910, 115, note 1.

12 Barth 1953, 96.

13 Dickson 1951, 242.

14 Juynboll 1910, 163: "Beim *Ḥaǧǧ* ist es den Frauen während des *Iḥrâm*-Zustandes ... verboten, ihr Gesicht zu verschleiern."

15 Observed on a visit to the grave of a holy man outside Halabja – Cf. Dickson 1951, 241.

16 A pouch of this kind formed part of the bride's equipment at a wedding in Sulaimani.

17 Cf. Dickson 1951, 162.

18 At Topzawa the big ablution of the married couple took place in the basin in the garden of their own house, which whilst this was in progress was shut off to all others, both members of the family and women from the village, who else were allowed to fetch water from the basin – Cf. Juynboll 1910, 74.

19 Cf. Kissling 1954, 23: "... dervish orders belong to the complex of the socalled "men's societies". – 27: "... expressed in terms of religious sociology dervishism was the organized Islamic Vorhof-religion".

20 Gowan 1938, 199 – Edmonds 1938, 142 – Leach 1940, 3.

21 Gibb 1955, 125 – Ward 1954, 130 – Kroeber s.a., 305.

22 Gowan 1938, 199.

23 Edmonds 1957, 206 et seq.

24 Cf. Gibb 1955, 61: "... devils are represented as rebellious jinns ... created ... of fire" – Soane 1926, 403.

25 Cf. Berliner u. Borchardt 1922, 14: "... bloss schützt den Träger ... gegen den bösen Blick ...".

26 Cf. Berliner u. Borchardt 1922, 14: "... Hand hilft gegen jeden Zauber".
27 Cf. Donaldson 1938, 204.
28 Cf. Berliner u. Borchardt 1922, 13.
29 Cf. Berliner u. Borchardt 1922, 28, Taf. XI, 3.
30 Cf. Berliner u. Borchardt 1922, 13, Taf. XIII, 8-10: "... gegen die gefährliche Fee Al-Karinah schützen".
31 Cf. Berliner u. Borchardt 1922, 14, Taf. XII, 3-4 – Lane 1944, 256: "... charm against evil eye enclosed in a case of triangular form ..." – 575.
32 Cf. Berliner u. Borchardt 1922, 14.
33 A yellowish-red carnelian is a calcedon. Is found – amongst other places – in India. Cf. Dragsted 1933, 32 et seq. – Dragsted 1953, 74 et seq.
34 Like carnelian, agate is a calcedon. It is found in different colours and with various markings. Found in India. Cf. Dragsted 1933, 13 – Dragsted 1953, 74.
35 Cf. Donaldson 1938, 20, 204.
36 Cf. Donaldson 1938, 20: "eye-cracker".
37 Cf. Dragsted 1933, 13 – Dragsted 1953, 74, who among the various forms of agate, refers to the greenish moss agate, to which also onyx belongs. – According to Donaldson 1938, 20, the onyx is called "bâbâ gauri", father of avarice ... to send back the evil eye glance ...
38 Cf. Donaldson 1938, 203.
39 Triangular amulet cases are mentioned from Turkestan by Olufsen 1911, 480; and by Le Coq 1916, 4, 6, Taf. 1, 5.
40 Cf. Donaldson 1938, 203: "... the chain of charms ... from the lowest point hangs the "prayer" ... small case of cloth, velvet or leather ..."
41 Cf. Lane 1944, 253, 575.
42 Cf. Bhushan s.a., 11 (India) – Hurgronje 1888, 154 (Arabia) – Olufsen 1911, 475 (Turkestan).
43 Cf. Berliner u. Borchardt 1922, 27 et seq., Taf. XI, 1, 2, 4, 5.
44 Barth 1953, 91 et seq.
45 Lane, 1944, 254: "The mus-haf (copy of the Kur'an) and other hegâbs are still worn by many women, generally enclosed in cases of gold, or of gilt or plain silver ... they are esteemed preservatives against disease, enchantment, the evil eye, and a variety of other evils".
46 Donaldson 1938, 136, 203.
47 Nikitine 1922, 344.
48 Feilberg 1952, 149, Fig. 133.
49 Nikitine 1922, 343.
50 Cf. Pedersen 1928, 245: "Thus (through Sufism's recognition of the holiness of the ascetics) Islam obtained her saints' graves with the vaulted domes."
51 Cf. Edmonds 1958, 62.
52 Cf. Niebuhr 1778, II, 297: "... Klöster von verschiedenen Orden Derwische".
53 Cf. Krohn, s. a., 307, concerning the Bektaschi monastery Fusch Krus: "Sarkophage ... von fünfeckigem Querschnitt, auf den Steinplatten des Fussbodens ruhend und ganz mit Decken aus Seide und Samt belegt ...".
54 Cf. Feilberg 1952, 148: "on baise la tombe de l'*Imâmzâdè* ..." – Krohn s.a., 307: "Berührung der Särge wirkt Wunder ...".
55 Cf. Donaldson 1938, 203: "The very earth taken from shrines carries with it special blessing ...".
56 Fraser 1840, I, 166.
57 Feilberg 1952, 147, note 1.
58 Bishop 1891, II, 102 – Cf. Edelberg 1952, 126, Fig. 21, refers to long sticks with flags on the graves of holy men on the Nuristan-Kabul road.
59 Maunsell 1894, 83.
60 Feilberg 1952, 149.
61 Donaldson 1938, 142 – Cf. Pedersen 1948, 276.
62 Massé 1938, II, 394.
63 Nikitine 1922, 344.
64 Maunsell 1894, 82: "under the outward forms of Mohammedanism traces of Pagan doctrines ...".
65 Østrup 1914, 92.
66 Feilberg 1952, 150: "croyances primitives bien antérieures au mahométisme".
67 Soane 1926, 403: "... votive offerings of rags ... a custom surely older than Islâm ...".
68 Østrup 1894, 264.

Conclusion, (p. 163–186)

1 Fraser 1840, I, 193, 194 – Bleibtreu 1894, 64 – Dickson 1910, 364 – Hay 1921, 43 – Soane 1926, 237, 395 "a manlier treatment", 366, 402 – Rambout 1947, 17 – Edmonds 1958, 150.
2 Fraser 1840, 193 et seq.
3 Soane 1926, 237.
4 Rambout 1947, 17.
5 Lane 1944, 183: "... the tarhah (or head-veil), of which scarcely any woman is destitute, ...".
6 Nikitine 1956, 109 et seq.: "Le visage de la fiancée est couvert avec un mouchoir rouge ...".
7 Lane 1944, 170, 171, fig.
8 Granqvist, 1939, 133 et seq., 213, Fig.
9 Lane 1944, 170, 171, fig.
10 According to Levy 1957, 119 prostitution is found in all Muslim areas – Concerning the conditions under which prostitutes live, see Dickson 1957, 244 – According to Gautier 1940, 45 there is no prostitution in Muslim areas – Concerning the conditions with the Kurds, Soane 1926, 397 says

that the name for prostitutes is a Turkish-Arabic one understood only in towns – Beyond being shown a quarter in Baghdad which, by order of the Government, had been cleared of prostitutes, I obtained no further informations on the subject during my stay in Iraq.

11 Cf. among others Pedersen 1928, 168.

12 Woodsmall 1936, 419.

13 Cf. Juynboll 1910, 163 et seq.

14 Woodsmall 1936, 64 et seq. – Cf. Aidin 1931, 521: "… the veil, besides being a badge of inferiority, has also given the women a certain amount of freedom, …".

15 Granqvist 1947, 162 (note 37), 278.

16 Cf. Leach 1940, 58 – Barth 1953, 95.

17 Leach 1940, 60.

18 Blackman 1927, 38.

19 Lane 1944, 185.

20 Barnes 1899, 224 et seq.

21 Garnett 1891, 444.

22 Woodsmall 1936, 58 – Cf. Edmonds 1922, 343 about the Lur women: "… they just keep themselves in the background …". – Hay 1921, 43.

23 Østrup 1894, 54 et seq.

24 Woodsmall 1936, 74.

25 Cf. a similar carding bow with mallet brought back from Luristan (E. 531a–b), depicted and referred to by Feilberg 1941, 70 et seq., Fig. 5 – Used in Syria; cf. Dalman 1937, 33 et seq. – Lincian 1955, 207, Fig. 17.

26 Hay 1921, 43.

27 Gautier 1949, 43, 44.

28 Østrup 1894, 54 et seq.

29 Blackman 1927, 38.

30 Cf. Garnett 1909, 282 et seq.: "With regard to their legal status, Turkish women, …, already (1909) possess all the legal, personal, and proprietary rights necessary to give them a social position equal, if not superior to that of European women generally."

31 Cf. Christensen 1937, 33.

32 Aidin 1931, 530.

33 Levy 1957, 109.

34 Cf. Østrup 1914, 162 – 1923, 68 et seq.

35 Rygaard 1935, 16.

36 Rygaard 1935, 16.

37 Rygaard 1935, 17.

38 Haidar 1948, 167.

39 Haidar 1946, 167.

40 Cf. Conway 1927, 338 – Woodsmall 1936, 116.

41 Granqvist 1931, 58.

42 Cf. Juynboll 1910, 186.

43 Cf. Juynboll 1910, 163 et seq. – Cf. concerning Iran Aidin 1931, 521.

44 Cf. Anderson 1950, 173 – Calverley 1939, 281, 288 – Gautier 1949, 18 – Gibb 1955, 17: "Islamic law … went far deeper than Roman law …"

45 Gautier 1949, 46: "Le célibat est une impiété …" – Gibb 1955, 106: "True Koranic asceticism condemned celibacy." – Lane 1944, 160: "… improper and even disreputable …".

46 Granqvist 1931, 132.

a

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Abbreviation:
JRCAS: Journal of the (Royal) Central Asian Society. London.

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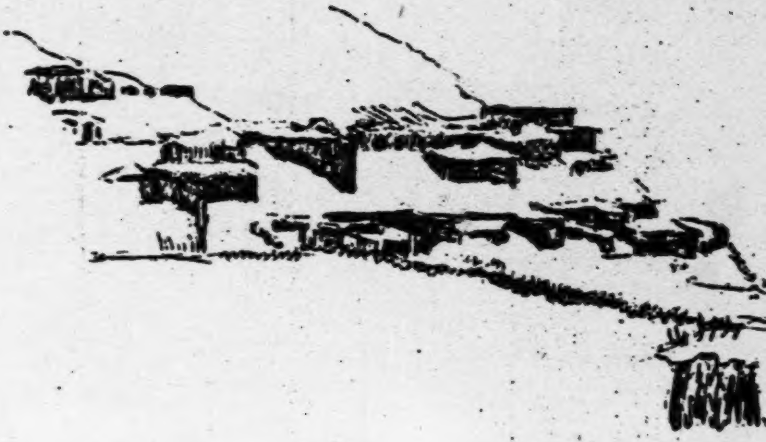

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LIST OF KURDISH TERMS EMPLOYED

Normalized by Professor K. Barr

Mukri words quoted with page and line from:
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Words from Gūrānī dialects (Kandūlai etc.) from:
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A few Kurdish words are quoted from: E. B. Soane, Grammar of the Kurmanji or Kurdish Language. Luzac's Oriental Grammar Series, Vol. VI. London 1913.

Abbreviations:

Ar.	=	Arabic.
Ar.-P.	=	Arabic words in Persian.
BSOAS	=	Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.
P.	=	Modern Persian.
T.	=	Turkish.
T.-P.	=	Turkish words in Persian.
Zäng.	=	Zängäna, a Southern Kurdish dialect.
Känd.	=	Kändūläi, a dialect of the Gūrānī.

abā (Ar. *ʿabā*)	cloak-like garment of wool, worn by men, of black silk, worn by women.
adapxāna (= P. *ādāb-xāna*)	latrine, "house of decency".
āγā — T.-P.	squire.
ambār — P. *anbār*	silo.
amōzā	father's brother's children.
amōžin	father's brother's wife.
ārd — P.	flour.
asp — P. *asp*	horse.
āw	water.
āwal-k'ras	woman's trousers (literally 'companion of the shirt').

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bādinjān — P.	eggplant, aubergine.
bājī — T.-P.	elder sister.
bāmiya	ladies' fingers, hibiscus esculentus L.
bāpīr	mother's father, father's father.
barak — P. *barak*, garment made of camel's hair	woollen rug.
bārān — P. *bārān*	rain.
bāwk	father.
bāwašīn (Mukri *bāwašīn*, 84/10)	fan.
bāzār, cf. *sūq*	market.
bāzin	bangle.
bard	stone.
bārmāl — Mukri *bārmāl* 12/11, 125/21	prayer rug. Cf. *sajjāda*.
bāzmān (only Senna)	necklace.
bilwēr	urine discharge pipe.
bin-k'rās	waistcoat with sleeves for a man.
b'ražin	brother's wife.
b'rinj — P. *berenj*	rice.
b'zin	goat.
bra, *b'rā*	brother.
būk	bride, son's wife.
byešik (definite form -in -a, -ī of *bešik* — T. *bešik*)	cradle.

čaket, *jaket* (Ar. *jakkat*(?))	jacket.
čāy — P.	tea.
čāy-xāna — P.	tea house.
čōxa (Mukri *čōxa*, Wolljacke 236/14)	woollen jacket for men.

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dāye	mother, grandmother.
dāyik	mother.
dāpīr	father's mother, mother's mother.
dās — P.	sickle.
dast — P. *dast*	hand.
dasmāl (Mukri *dasmāl*, Kopftuch 33/4)	woman's neck veil.
dastan (Mukri (Rewandiz dialect) *dastbend*, Wickelband)	padded bandages for cradle.
d'rpī (Mukri *d'rpī* 174/21)	drawers for a man; vulgar name for woman's trousers.
dīza — P. *dīze*	clay vase.
došak — P.	mattress (for cradle).
dūg — P.	buttermilk mixed with water.

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fǝrǝnji	felt waistcoat (cf. Mann-Had., Gör. 267).
fǝrš — P.	carpet, mat (also used for bed-clothes).
fǝšt (?)	yarn of goat's wool.
ga	ox.
gāzin (< gāv-āsin, cf. P. gāv-āhan)	plough-share.
gäz — P.	"one yard" measuring rod.
gǝzi	brush.
gul — P.	rose, flower; temple ornament.
gunǝk, dialect form of P. gunde	lump of dough.
gurīs (— Mukri)	rope.
halīza (— Känd. hālīzä, Schlauch für Buttermilch, Mann-Had., Gör. 235)	leather sack for milk.
hammām, hammām (< Ar. hammām - bath(house))	bathroom.
havjār (— Bājālāni havjār plough-arm, MacKenzie BSOAS XVIII, 1956, p. 435)	handle of plough.
hāwin	summer.
hawīr (Mukri hawīrd 192/10, Ar.-P. xamīr)	dough.
hestir (Mukri histir 296/3)	mule.
heywān (— P. eywān, anteroom, hall, portico. Mukri hāiwān, Halle 247/10, Ar. līwān < al-īwān)	three-walled central room.
hilāl (Ar. new moon, half moon)	crescent-shaped pendant.
hilka	egg.
jājim — P.	woollen rug.
jamana	turban cloth.
janjar	threshing machine.
jila	woman's dress as a whole.
jinn — Ar.	demons.
jut	plough.
[60] kāka	elder brother.
kandū (— Zängänä kand, Känd. kandu < kandū, grosser irdener Topf für Speichern des Getreides, Mehls u.s.w. Mann-Had., Gör. 259)	silo of clay.
kamčǝk	ladle, spoon.
kawā (< qabā', Mukri kăwā 96/10, 212/21, overgarment with long sleeves, not specially a woman's garment.	caftan for a woman.
kāwǝš, Mukri kāwǝš	cloth shoe, in Persian calle givē, mālikī.
kabāb Ar.-P.	roasted meat.
kafǝn Ar.-P.	winding sheet, grave-cloth.
kapǝr (Luri kapǝr — P. kapar, hurdle of wattled twigs, a fence, an enclosure. P. kapar, a lodge, a hut)	leaf hut.
kar	donkey.
kaškūl (P. kaškūl, coco-nut, the beggar's bowl hanging in a chain around the neck)	amulet necklace with a sma beggars' bowl of silver.
kil (— Northern Kurdish kiḥil "collyrium". Mukri kil, make up for the eyes, collyrium (antimony. 241/19, 263/10)	eye make-up.
kil-sär (Mukri sänd, sack, P. säbre)	bag of brocade for collyrium.
kil-čīv (Mukri kil-čīv 241/28 Cf. Mann, Mukri II, p. 370, n. 28)	stick for putting on collyrium.
kʷlin	hay.
kendre (Garzoni: kanar "sac fait de laine ou de poil de chèvre", (Jaba-Justi, Dict. kurd-français)	woven sack.
kʷrās, Mukri kǝrās, man's shirt	man's shirt, woman's gown or kirtle.
kermǝk Mukri kǝrmǝk 64/20 "Halskette" Bābā kǝrmǝk, "Halsband", v. Le Coq, II p. 108	cap chain for a woman.
kare (— P. kare)	butter.
kič	girl, daughter.
kīsa — P.	small leather sack.
kolāka (Mukri kǝlāka, Pfeiler, cf. Mann-Had., Gör. 262)	side-poles to vertical loom.
kʷlāw (Mukri kulāw 129/30, P. kolāh, the conical felt cap)	skull-cap for men and women
kund, kune (Cf. Zängänä, Kirmānšāhī, Känd. kunä, Wasserschlauch, Mann-Had., Gör. 262)	water skin.
kur	boy.
lēfa (cf. Mukri lēfǝ, Schlafdecke 190/17)	quilt.

libâdî (Mukri) 23/29	felt mat.
libâs ← Ar.-P. *libâs*, dress, garment	Arabian drawers for a man.
lûla (← P. *lûle*, pipe)	cylindrical wooden box of silver, iron spout, urine discharge pipe of bamboo for babies in the cradle.
lûtawânka (*lût*, nose. Cf. *milwânka*)	nose ornament for women.

mada (?)	pillow for baking.
majmaʿa, Ar.-P.	round tray of metal (brass or copper).
makâ, P. *makâ*	sheath.
mal	the most common Kurdish word for house (home).
mâm	father's brother.
mâst ← P.	curds.
mâstâw	curds diluted with water.
mashk ← P.	churning sack of leather.
mêrd (P. *mard*, man)	husband.
mêrdbrâ	husband's brother.
mêrdxushk	husband's sister.
mêxak (P. *mêxak*, a clove, cloves, carnation)	necklace of dried cloves.
milwânka (*mil*, neck)	necklace.
mindâl	child.
mishkî (?)	turban cloth for man.
mulla (Ar.-P. *mullâ*)	a mullah.
mushta (← P. *mushta*, *mushte*, a shoemaker's hammer or mallet)	cone-shaped metal hammer for a shoemaker.
mukhtâr, Ar.-P.	parish officer

nân ← P.	bread.
nanka	father's mother, mother's mother.

pâpush, *bâbush* (P. *pâpûsh*, Ar. *bâbûsh*)	slippers.
parda (P. *parde*)	curtain around a cradle
pâl-gard (?)	shed stick.
pêcha (P. *pîche*)	face veil for women (*châdir-o-pêcha*, the complete outdoor costume in town).
pîna (only in Sanna)	low baking table.
pishtên (Mukri *pishtên* 148/4 Gêrdmukrî 166/23)	sash for a man.
pîtawîr	chain of coins; worn around the neck by women wearing "Persian dress".
po	warp. Cf. Kurdoev, Kurdsko-russkij slovarj, p. 621.
pûr	father's sister, mother's sister.
pûrzâ	father's sister's children, mother's sister's children.
pyâw	man.

qabqâb (← Ar. *qabqâb*)	wooden slippers for women.
qayada, cf. Bajalâni *qayada* (borrowed from Kurdish?) "iron finger-nails to guard fingers from sickle when reaping", cf. D.N. MacKenzie, BSOAS xviii, 1956, p. 435	harvesting claws.
qandâra	velvet slippers for women.
qurbân badin	*klâ-i-qurbân*.

rang ← P.	colour.
rânk (Mukri *rânk*, Mann 287/24)	trousers for a man.
rânk-o-chôkha	suit consisting of trousers and jacket for a man.
rashmâl	black tent (*rash*, black).
rowghan ← P.	clarified butter.

sâj (T. *sâj*, Eisenplatte, Brotblech, Mann-Had., Gûr. 278)	frying pan.
salta (← Ar. *salta*, Tuchjacke über das lange Kleid getragen)	jacket for women and children.
samâwar ← P. (from Russian)	samovar.
sawar	boiled wheat.
sebâd, *sebât* (← P. *sabad*, Mukri *sewêt* 276/3)	basket.
sarbân ← P.	turban cloth for married women.
sar-dâr	upper warp beam on vertical loom.
sarîn (Mukri *sarîn*)	pillow.
sarpôsh (P. *sarpôsh*)	head cloth or head veil for women.
sajjâda, *sajjâde*	common Ar.-P. word for prayer rug.
s'nûq (← Southern Kurd. *sândûq*, *sinûq* < Ar.-P. *sandûq* meaning every sort of big chest; cf. Känd. *sindûq*, Mann-Had., Gûr. 280)	chest of wood.
sêpâ (← P. *seh-pâ(y)*)	tripod.
sênî (← P. *sînî*)	metal round tray.
sarwad, *sarwa* (cf. Awrom. *sarwad*, blouse sans manches, Benedictsen-Christensen, Les dialectes d'Awroman et de Pâwä,	

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Kgl. Danske Vid. Selsk. Hist.-filol. Medd. VI, 2. København 1921, p. 126a)	waistcoat for men and women.
[illegible] – Ar. [illegible] P.)	market.

[illegible]	turban cloth for men.
[illegible]	comb in horizontal loom.
[illegible] (Mukri [illegible], [illegible] 128/35)	juice from grapes.
[illegible] – P.	milk.
[illegible]	husband's brother.

[illegible], [illegible], [illegible] (Ar.-P. [illegible]	oven, jar-shaped bake-oven.
[illegible] (Mukri [illegible], Hand-spindel 113/3)	distaff.
[illegible] (P. [illegible], [illegible], [illegible] [illegible], girdle for baking bread, Lor. p. 112a)	frying pan.
[illegible], [illegible] (Ar.-P. [illegible])	rosary.
[illegible]	rolling pin.
[illegible]	loom.

[illegible] – Ar.	mother's brother.
[illegible]	mother's brother's children.
[illegible]	mother's brother's wi
[illegible] (Mukri [illegible] 170/3)	convent for dervishes.
[illegible], [illegible] (Mukri [illegible] 117/31 (Ar. [illegible], harem))	blame.
[illegible] P.	curved dagger.
[illegible] (P. [illegible])	house.
[illegible] – P.	hospital.
[illegible]	mother in law.
[illegible]	father in law.
[illegible]	trowel.
[illegible] – P.	mud brick.
[illegible] (?)	sheep's wool.
[illegible]	sister.
[illegible]	salt-bag.
[illegible], [illegible] ([illegible] [illegible], [illegible])	salt.

[illegible] (– P. [illegible])	sister's husband, daughte husband, bridegroom.
[illegible]	[illegible] for skull-cap women.
[illegible]	lower warp beam on vertical loom.
[illegible]	shift for women.
[illegible]	wife.
[illegible]	wife's brother.
[illegible]	wife's sister.

LIST OF ETHNOGRAPHICAL SPECIMENS

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Photos by the author and Lennart Larsen; drawings by the author except figs. 22, 23, 24, 26, 31 by P. U. Hansen, fig. 60 by [illegible].